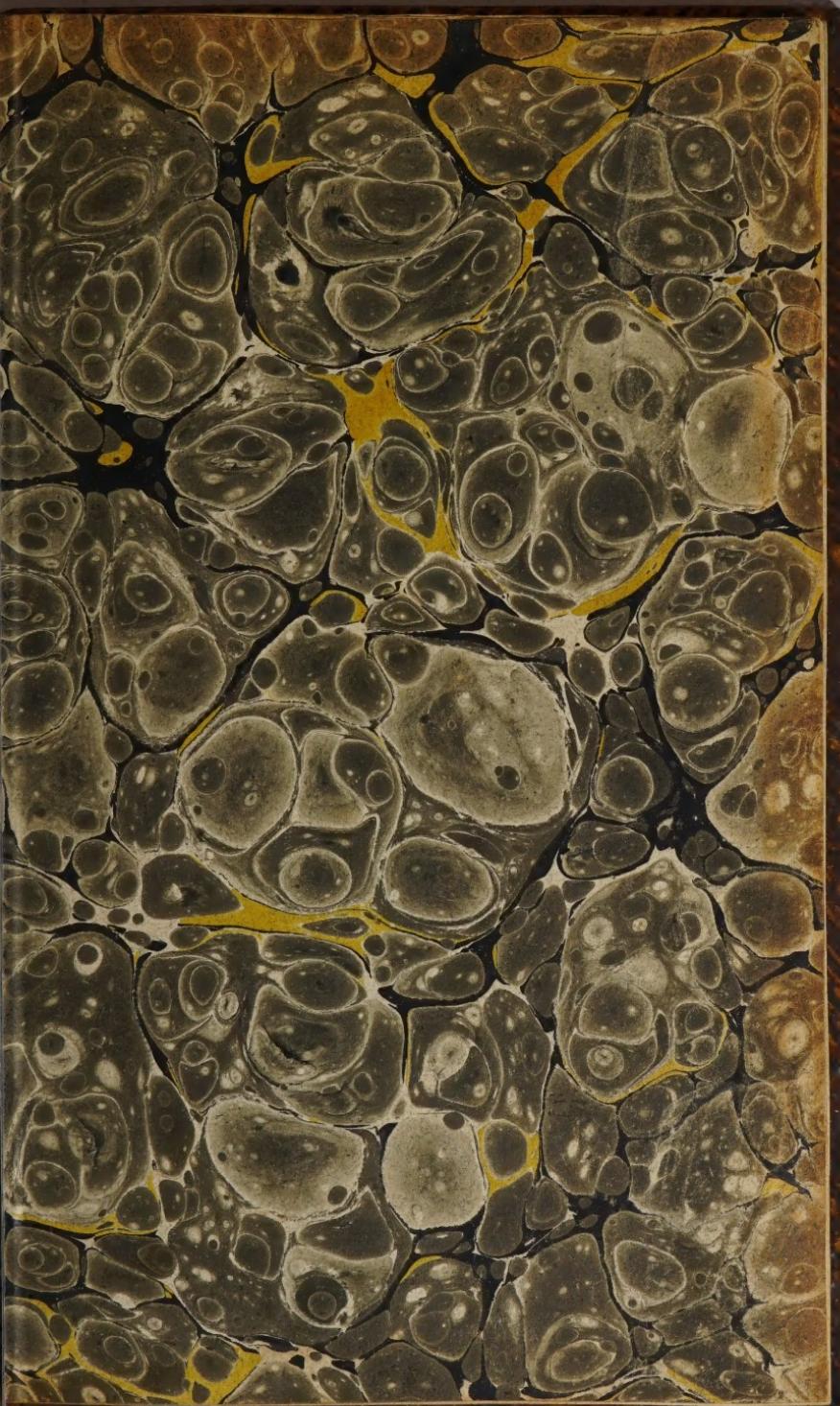
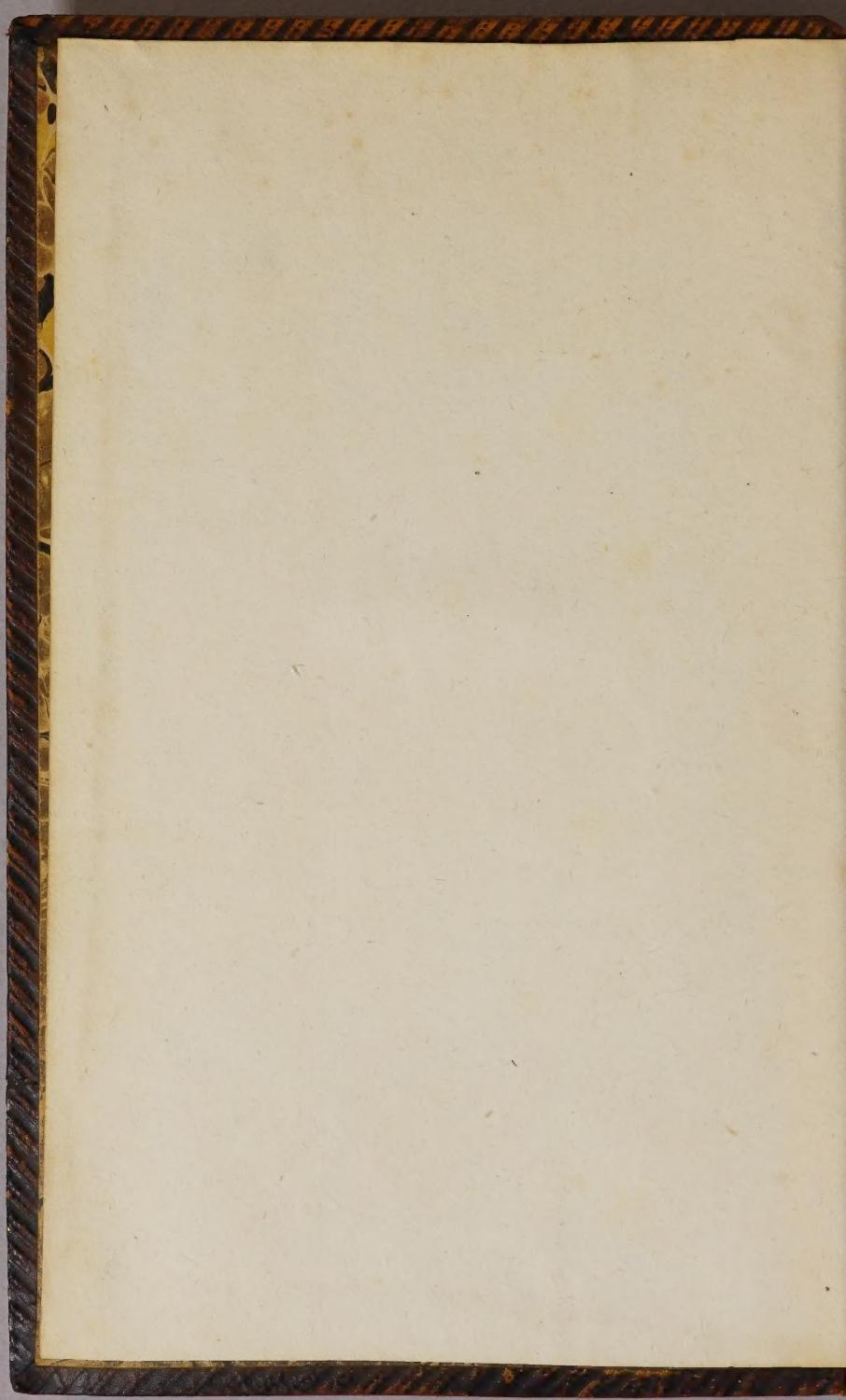
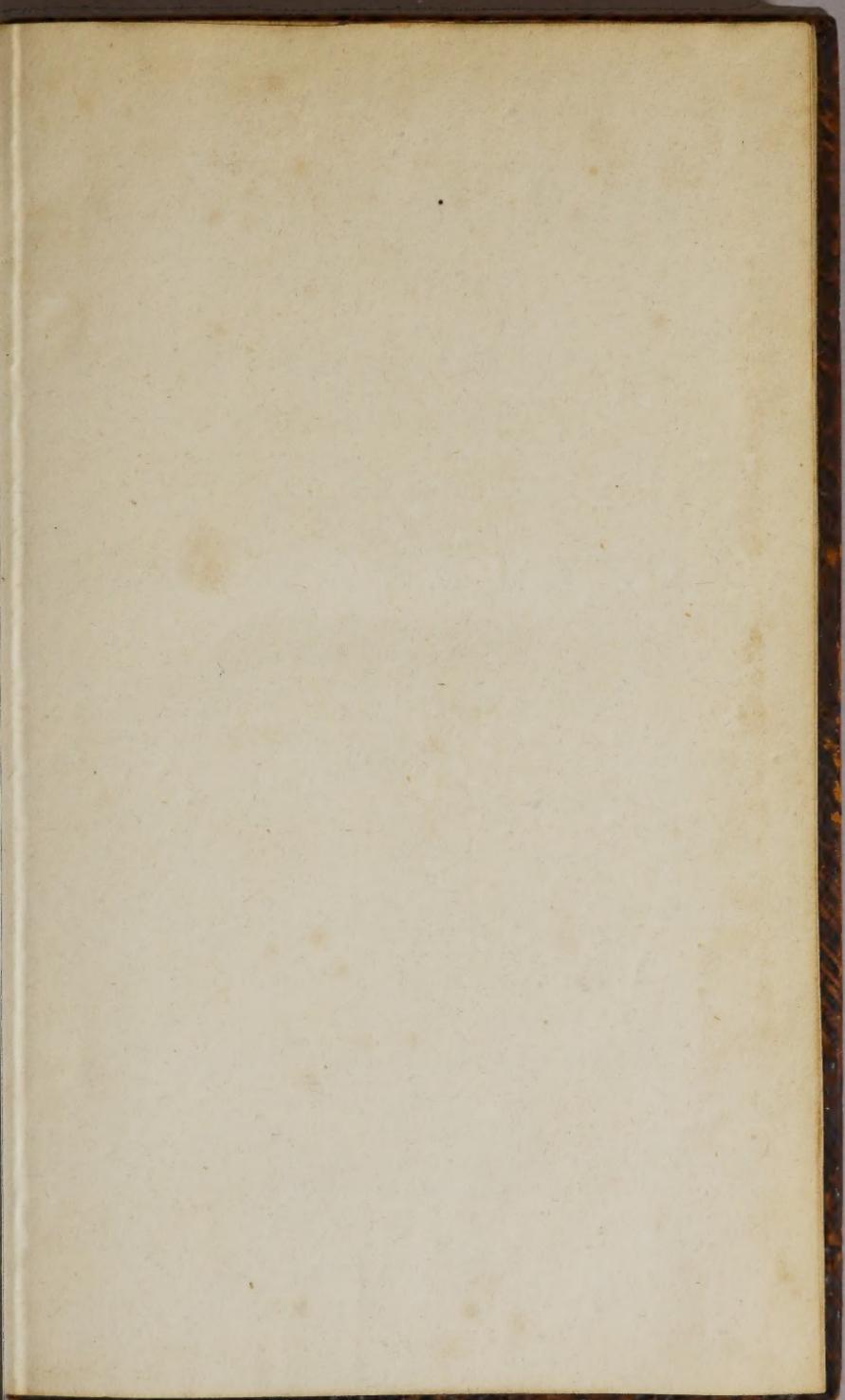


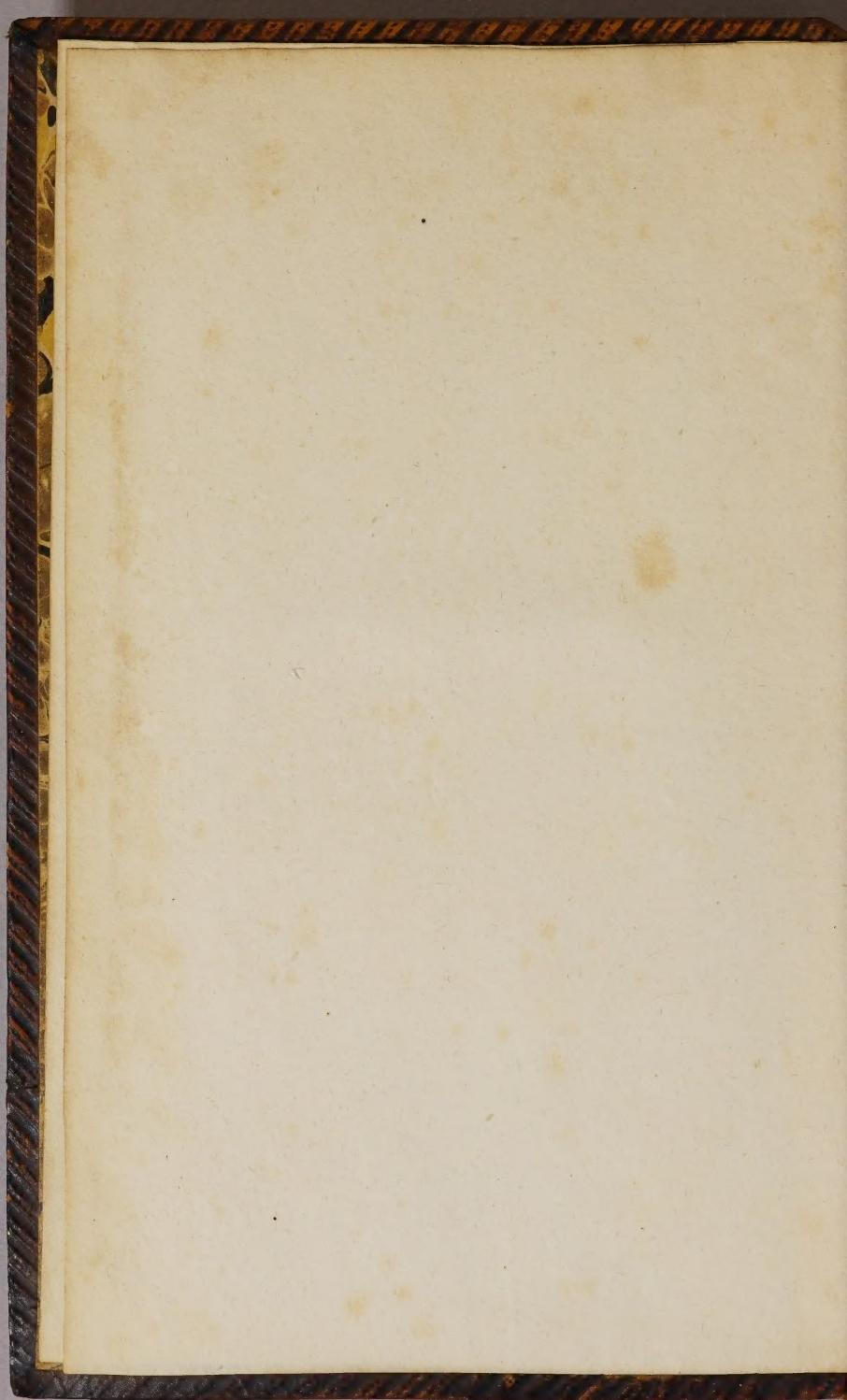


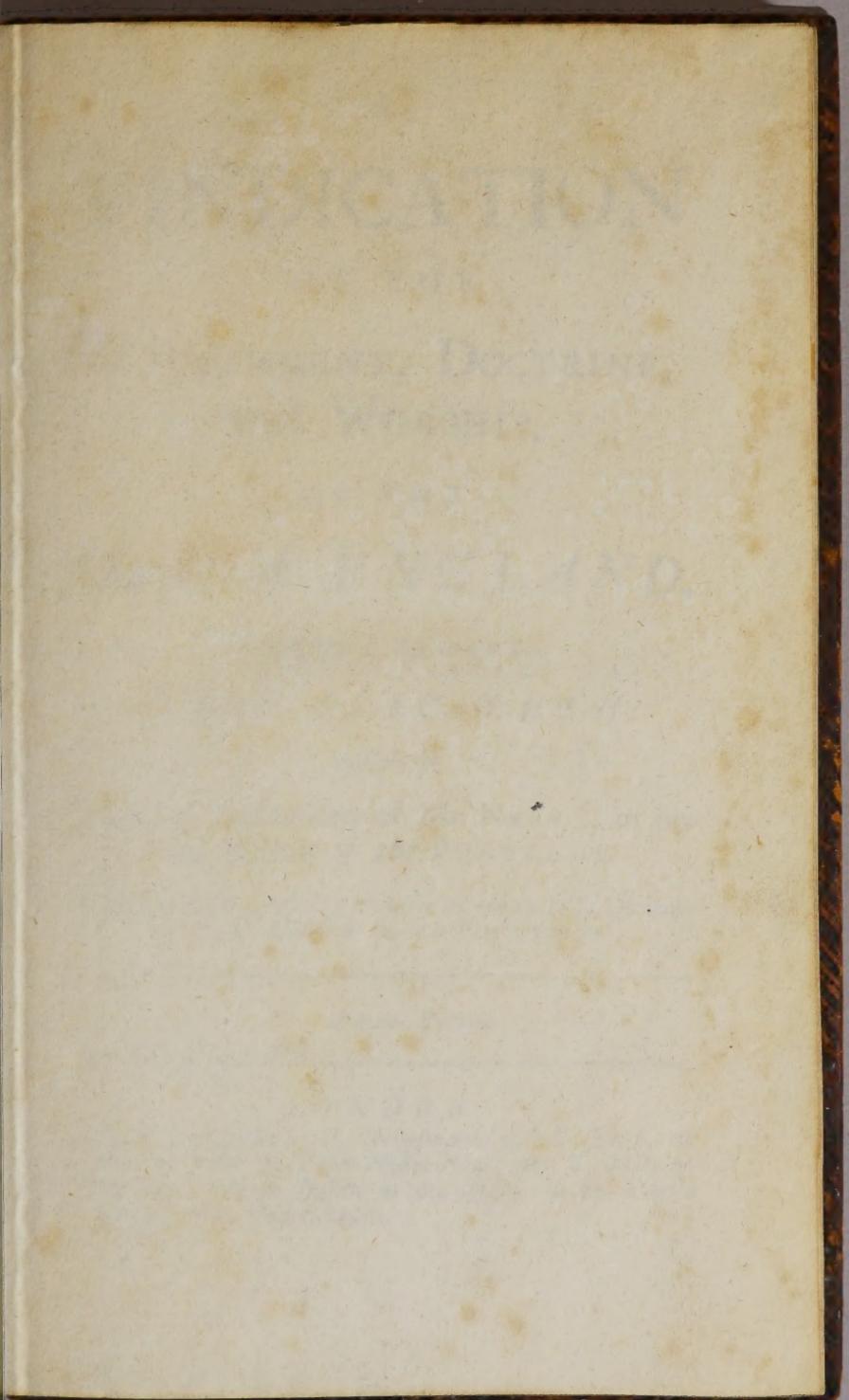
John Carter Brown.











B. & Isaac Maddox

C

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINE,
and WORSHIP,
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND,

Established in the Reign of

QUEEN ELIZABETH:

Against the

Injurious Reflections of MR. NEALE, in his
late *History of the PURITANS.*

Together with a DETECTION of many false Quotations
and Mistakes in that Performance.

alteram Partem.

Audi

L O N D O N:

Printed, and Sold by A. Bettefworth and C. Hitch, at
the Red Lion in Pater-Noster-Row; and T. Astley at
the Rose, and S. Austen at the Angel, in St. Paul's
Church-yard. MDCCXXXIII.

AVINDICATION

OF THE

GOLDEMINUT, DOCTRINE
SAY MORGAN

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

WITH A REPLY TO THE REBELLION

GREEN ELIZABETH

BY JAMES

THE RECOGNITION OF MR NEWTON,
THE MARCH OF THE PATRIOTS,
THE LETTERS OF THE TRACTORS OF THE CHURCH,
THE KING'S CHURCH, & THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.



BY JAMES

THE KING'S CHURCH,

THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE,
THE TRACTORS OF THE CHURCH,
THE KING'S CHURCH, & THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.



A

VINDICATION

OF THE

Government, Doctrine, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

AN Hearty Union and Friendship among Protestants (could such a Blessing be obtain'd) must prove highly advantageous to the Interest of true Religion. This, in all human Probability, would continue it where it already is, and spread it in those Places where now it is not received. Enemies, as well as Friends, concur in this Opinion. The unwearied Endeavours of *Papists* from the Beginning of the Reformation, to divide

B

divide the *Protestants*, plainly enough shew their Sentiments upon this Head. In how many Shapes have they appear'd? What Pretences, what Intrigue, what Disguise have they not employ'd, to begin or carry on those Animosities, in which they have found too great Success? 'Tis rather to be wish'd than expected, that all who have separated from the Church of *Rome* should agree in the same Opinions, or the same external Rites; but in mutual Forbearance and Charity they may all concur. 'Tis more than time they should: Duty as well as Interest oblige them to it. While Popery is gaining continually upon the declining Interest of the Reformation; while our persecuted Brethren feel, in the most sensible manner, the daily Progress of this cruel Superstition upon the *Continent*; and while the Emissaries of *Rome* are so far from being inactive in *this Island*, at such a Juncture 'tis extreamly *unseasonable*, and may be very *prejudicial*, to kindle or revive any Disputes among those of the same Faith. No Benefit sure can arise to the general Interest of Protestantism, from endeavouring to convince its Adversaries, that different Parties of *Protestants* have treated one another as severely as Papists have treated them all.

all. If the *Original* of these unhappy Disputes was in the main very *insignificant* or *groundless*, the *Revival* of them is still more *improper*. For the sake of Christianity, therefore, and the Protestant Cause, 'tis to be hoped, that every Attempt to awaken the Passions of Mankind upon such Points, will be for ever discouraged by the Friends of Truth and Liberty. Why should Protestants bite and devour? why calumniate or reproach each other? or why endeavour to asperse and blacken the great Founders of the Reformation? The common Enemy can do enough of This. 'Tis pity a *History of the Puritans* lately published by *Daniel Neal*, *M. A.* should give Occasion for such Reflections! If either Party has offended, as it may be *each* in its Turn has done, since those Offences now cease, let them be buried in eternal Oblivion; not only be forgiven, but absolutely forgot. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.* If the *Laws* were somewhat severe upon the *Puritans*, they, when they had got the Power into their own Hands, took ample Revenge *contrary to Law*. These things are past; for the future, if the Nation is not to be bless'd with a more perfect Agreement, yet, as Christians, and as Protestants, let us

join our best Endeavours in the important Cause of Christianity, Protestantism, and practical Religion. When *united Attempts* have got the better of the *Infidelity and Immorality* of the Age (which certainly demand the first Regard) it will then be time enough for Fellow-Christians and Fellow-Protestants to dispute Matters of so little Consequence as an *Organ* or a *Surplice*, a square *Cap*, or a *Gold Ring*. It may even *then* be too soon to engage the Minds of People upon Subjects of so little Moment; but, *at present*, 'tis, upon many Accounts, greatly unseasonable and improper. Contentions of this Sort, among many other Evils, are apt to produce a *Coldness* and *Difregard* for the necessary Duties of Piety and Virtue. Men of all Persuasions are too prone to fall into this Mistake, and substitute a *disproportion'd Zeal against*, as well as *for*, the external and disputed Parts of Religion, in the Place of true Devotion and real Goodness. When the Mind is thus warmly engaged in such Disputes, either on one Side or the other, it generally becomes too careless of more weighty Matters. Nor is this Effect at all unnatural. One of the common Arts in this religious Controversy (for even that, to the great Hurt

Hurt of real Christianity, is now become a Science) is to heighten the Importance of the Point in Dispute. Matters which to a cool and impartial Man, not engaged in the Controversy, appear of little Moment, by a skilful Management in this sort of Disputation, may be represented as of the utmost Consequence. Hence Men are led to a vast Opinion of themselves, for being, as they imagine, so much wiser than their Neighbours, in an Affair thought very momentous. Mr. N's History amply confirms this unpleasant Truth. In this Narration the World is reminded of those Disputes equally fierce and unhappy, which had for their chief Foundation nothing of greater Consequence than the Habit in which the Clergy were to officiate, and a few (very few they were) harmless Ceremonies of the same indifferent Nature. By thus dividing the Protestants, they weakened that Interest in the Infancy of it, when its whole united Strength seem'd scarce sufficient against Popery. And for what Reason was this ill-tim'd hurtful Contention raised, but chiefly that divine Service might be perform'd in a black Garb rather than a white one; that the Cloak of *Geneva*, and not the common Surplice, might be the esta-

blish'd Dress? when, after all, the one is dressing, in a manner, as the Jesuits do; the other, at worst, is only wearing a Part of the Habit of the Parish-Priests. 'Tis natural for a Protestant to wish a Veil drawn over such a Scene as this; so warm and hurtful a Contention for so small a Matter. This is no

N's Hist.
p. 230.

Ibid. p. 594.

Aggravation of the Case, Mr. N. himself declares, "Had the Habits and " a few Ceremonies been left indiffe- " rent, both Ministers and People had " been easy." Again, "the Contro- " versy with the Puritans had but a " small Beginning." How much Di- sturbance was raised in the Nation up- on that Account, his whole History is a Proof. This Gentleman, upon En-quiry, will find, that the *Revival* of this Controversy, and the opening those Wounds which all good Men hoped were effectually healed, meets with lit- tle Applause from the best Protestants, and the most moderate Men in the Kingdom. Does he imagine there can- not be as frightful Pictures drawn of Calvinistic or Puritanical Persecutors, as any he has drawn of the Church of *England*? But what Purpose could this answer, except to make the different Parties of Protestants more cold to each other,

other, and help the Papists to triumph over them all?

The two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are happily united; each Persuasion has the Advantage of a publick Establishment, with a Toleration to those that respectively differ from it. But this, it seems, is not sufficient; nothing but the Introduction of the *Geneva* Plan, or something like it, thro' the whole united Kingdom, can give full Satisfaction. To accomplish this Design, Mr. N. has taken much Pains to represent the Church of *England* as founded in Violence and Bloodshed, its Constitution contrary to the Word of God, and invading Christian Liberty; and, to the great Joy, no doubt, of Papists, shews much Displeasure against almost every thing done at the Reformation, and very severely treats the Memory of the great and worthy Instruments of it. The taking away the superfluous Popish Furniture and Vestments, which, according to his own Principles, had been abused to Idolatry, and were a Profanation of the Christian Worship, he expressly calls by no better Name than the Papists give it,^{N's Hist.} *Sacrilege*, or *Church-Theft*; and censures the Proceeding in Parliament, according to the Advice of pious *Protectors*,^{vid. Burn. Hist. Vol. II.} stant^{p. 330. Appen.}

stant Exiles, to establish the Protestant Religion, for not having the Consent of a Popish Convocation. " Heath, says he, [Queen Mary's] Archbishop of York made an elegant Speech against the *Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacra-*ments ; in which, among other things, he observes **VERY JUSTLY**, that an Act of this Consequence ought to have had the Consent of the [then Popish] Clergy in Convocation, before it pass'd into a Law." On the contrary, this Gentleman introduces the Patrons of the *Geneva Model*, as Persons zealous for Christian Liberty, that were only desirous of shewing a greater Regard to Scripture, promoting a purer Reformation, a holy Discipline, &c. Thus while he describes one as exceeding bad, the other extreamly good, what is the natural Inference from all this, but that the corrupt Church should be *abolish'd*, and a pure one plac'd in its room, by all who hate Persecution, regard the Laws of Christ, or value Christian Liberty?

Tho' many wise and moderate Men think it an Unhappiness to have this Controversy revived at this Juncture; yet, if it shall appear, that Mr. N's

History contains many things *injurious* to the Memory of the *Great Foundress* of the Protestant Religion, and very *partial* Representations of those who acted by her Authority; it must be thought a Piece of Justice to that good Princess, as well as to her Ministers and Servants, to re-consider this Matter. If all the Proceedings in a long Reign of Forty Four Years were not equally praise-worthy, 'tis not to be wonder'd at. Human Frailties attend Persons of every Rank, and it will appear that the *Puritans* were as far from being faultless, as their Superiors. 'Tis but Justice therefore to divide the Blame, and let each Side have its proper Share. With this View publick Notice is taken of Mr. N's Performance, that the Church of *England*, which has always been the great Support and Bulwark, as well as the Refuge and *Asylum* of the Protestant Religion, may not lye under such a heavy Load as he has laid upon it; when so large a Part justly falls to the Share of other Persons.

Justice to the Establish'd Church obliges us to observe, that the Bishops and Clergy thereof have express'd no Desire to engage the King's Protestant Subjects in Disputes with one another, nor made any Attempts to revive these
Con-

Controversies about lesser Matters, when Christianity itself, and the Protestant Religion, are so vigorously assaulted. In the present Case, the very Rights of Self-defence had probably been waved, if Silence under such an Attack, would not, to the great Hurt of the Protestant Interest, have given an Appearance of Truth to some injurious Representations. In order therefore to do *Justice*, and lay this Matter fairly before the World, 'tis requisite to throw some *Light* into those Characters of the *Queen*, her *Ministry*, and *Bishops*, which this Gentleman has drawn so very *black* and frightful. It will at the same time be necessary to cast some *Shade* into his Pictures of the *Puritans*, which are made *too bright* and glaring. This last is indeed the more unpleasant Part of the Work; and had they not been applauded at the Expence of the great Instruments of the Reformation, their Characters would have pass'd untouch'd. However, as they are now *dead*, and unable to answer for themselves, they shall be treated with all the Candour and Tenderness that are consistent with Truth, and no more shall be said of them than is necessary to the *Defence* of their *Accused Superiors*. The Treatment
these

these have met with shall not be made an Example in speaking of the other.

The *Establishment* of the Church of *England* on the Basis on which it now stands, was effected in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; we shall therefore pass over the preceding Parts of Mr. N's History, and consider this as the principal Period when the Controversy with the *Puritans* properly had its Rise.

A few Observations upon the Circumstances of Affairs in that Reign, will give some Light to the Dispute, if under them it shall appear,

1. That Queen *Elizabeth* was really a *Protestant*, and wisely fix'd upon the *most proper and scriptural*, as well as *most catholick and comprehensive* Establishment of the Protestant Religion.
2. That the *Puritans* were neither desirous of a *Toleration* for themselves, nor willing to grant it to any others; but *solely* aimed at the *establishing* their own *Platform*, and *persecuting* their Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Protestants.
3. That they were treated with great *Indulgence* and *Favour*, and allow'd to enjoy *many and considerable* *Preferments* in the Church.
4. That

4. That their own irregular *Conduct* obliged the Government to secure itself, by keeping a stricter Hand upon them. And that, after all, great *Distinction* was made between *peaceable Nonconformists* and those that endeavour'd the *Overthrow of Church and State*; that the *one* were *indulged*, while the *other* were restrain'd. If these Things shall appear upon proper Evidence, the *English Reformation*, 'tis to be hoped, will be sufficiently vindicated from the Reflections cast upon it in the *History of the Puritans*, and appear in its true Light a *great and glorious Work*.

To prevent all Suspicion of Unfairness or Misrepresentation, the *very Words* of the Authors made use of shall be quoted; tho' this may cause a Diversity in the Stile, yet it must greatly add to the Reader's Satisfaction. Mr. N. allows Bishop *Burnet*, *Strype*, and *Fuller*, to be the chief Church Historians of these Times, and as such to deserve Credit. These, together with the *Puritan* Writers of the greatest Esteem and Reputation among their own Party, will be the chief Evidences produced in this Cause.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

IN the first Place, 'tis but *Justice* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to mention her honest *Concern* and *Zeal* to introduce and support the *Protestant Religion*; that the *Measures* she took were the most *proper*, and most subservient to this laudable Design. Any one in the least acquainted with the Character of this Great Princess would hardly think it necessary to vindicate her from the Charge of being actually a Papist, or greatly inclined to Popery. But, as it was not only the Imputation of those in her Reign, who could not be gratified with the full Establishment of their own Schemes, but Mr. N. also, in Imitation of them, has frequently laid *this* to her Charge; it seems necessary, in the first Place, to vindicate her from so heavy an Accusation.

By Mr. N's Account of this Great Princess, it must be thought her Heart was entirely Popish. Thus, pag. 337.
 " Tho' the *Papists* were the Queen's
 " most dangerous Enemies, her Majesty
 " had a *peculiar* Tenderness for *them*.
 So again, p. 255. " One would have
 " thought, *says he*, these formidable
 " Conspiracies of the Roman Catho-
 " licks

" licks should have alienated the
 " Queen's Heart from them." If her
 Majesty, upon very weighty Reasons,
 was for retaining some few ancient Ce-
 remonies, it had been much more decent
 as well as *just* to so Great a Queen, to
 have said she inclin'd more to the *Luthe-*
ran than *Calvinistic* Protestants, in the
 external Polity of the Church, tho' she
 never came up to the former. But
Popery is an *odious* Word, and therefore
 the *Good Queen* is to be *Branded* with
 that. Thus, when he is giving her
 Character in Form, at the End of her
 Reign, p. 601. " As to her own Re-
 " ligion, she affected a middle Way be-
 " tween *Popery* and *Puritanism*, tho'
 " her Majesty was more inclinable to
 " the former : She disliked the secular
 " Pretentions of the Court of *Rome*
 " over foreign States, but was *in love*
 " with the Pomp and Splendor of their
 " Worship.

This is the heavy Charge brought
 against that Illustrious Princess, who
exposed herself to so many Hazards for
 the Protestant Religion. How ground-
 less the Accusation is, will soon appear
 to her *Honour*; and if it be to the
Shame of her Accusers, they are to
 thank themselves.

The cruel *Treatment* she met with in her *Sister's Reign*, merely upon the Account of *Religion*, sufficiently proves what Opinion the Papists had of her Sentiments upon that Head. They never thought her *Heart* was for them, or that she was any way *in love* with their Worship. Her Behaviour, after she came to the Crown, plainly shew'd they were not mistaken in their Apprehensions of her. The Way in which the *Pope* himself, as well as *foreign Princes*^{vid.} The Bull of *Pius V.* deposing Queen *Popish Subjects* always treated her, is a farther Evidence in her Favour; and so is her *supplying* the Vacancies in the *Church*, as Mr. *Rapin* observes, with the most zealous *Protestants*, and her inviting foreign *Protestants* into her Domains, as well as supporting them abroad. To form a better Judgment of the Queen's Regard to the Protestant Religion, it may be proper to recollect the Circumstances of Affairs at her Accession. This will give a juster Notion of her Conduct, and shew the *Necessity* there was to proceed with great *Caut*ion, and must also convince every unprejudiced Person, that had she been secretly disposed towards Popery, *Interest* would have led her to follow her Inclination, and *continue Religion* in the settled

Rapin, Eliz.
p. 260.
Elizab. Bur.
Vol. 2. p. 377.

Strype's Ann.
I. p. 254.

settled State in which Queen *Mary* left it, and not expose herself to so much Trouble and Danger, as it was easy to foresee so great a Change must certainly occasion.

Queen *Mary's* Endeavours to make the Nation *entirely Popish*, had succeeded too well. Bishop *Cox* to a learned Foreigner gives this Account of it.

Strype's Ann.
Vol. I. Ap-
pend. p. 54.

"Popery so encreased and prevailed in
Five Years only, under the cruel

Ibid.

"Reign of Queen *Mary*, that it was
incredible how very much the Papists
were hardened." Bishop *Jewel*, at
the same time, to the learned *Bullinger*,
"Our Universities are so entirely
lost, that there are scarce two who
are of the same Opinion with us.
"You can scarce believe so great De-
vastation could be made in so short
"a Time." As to the *Bishops and Clergy*, all over the Nation, they were
unanimous for Popery, firm as a Rock.
Immotus enim, says Bishop *Cox*, *stat Clerus totus.*

Ibid.

Tanquam dura filex, aut stet Marpesia cautes.

Sub sevo Mariæ imperio ita crevit *invaluitque Papismus*
ad quinquennium tantum, ut *incredibile fuerit* quantopere
pectora Papistarum obduruerint.

Academie nostræ ita afflita sunt & perdite, ut *vix* duo
sunt qui nobiscum sentiant—*vix credas tantam vastitatem*
afferi potuisse tam parvo tempore.

So

So far was Queen *Elizabeth* thought from being in love with Popery, that, as Mr. Rapin tells us, " a great Difficul-^{Rapin, Eliz.}
" tycy was thrown in the Way of the ^{init.}
" Declaration of the House of Lords
" in favour of *Elizabeth*. And this
" was; that all *England*, and particu-
" larly the House of Lords, made Pro-
" fession of the Roman Catholick Re-
" ligion; and that it was almost out
" of all Doubt, that *Elizabeth* was a
" Protestant in her Heart." The Bi-
shops and Catholick Lords persuaded
themselves that *Elizabeth* would find it
a difficult Undertaking to change the
establish'd Religion, shou'd her *Inclina-*
tions to such a Change be ever so strong;
so firm; in their Opinion, was the Foun-
dation upon which Popery stood, that
they thought the attempting any Alter-
ation would bring her into *Disturban-*
ces that might be attended with her
Ruin. This was the State of Affairs,
as to Religion; the *Nation* universally
Popish; not only the *Bishops* and *Cler-*
gy, but all the *Privy-Councillours*,
Judges, and other *publick Officers*,
were the most *bigotted Papists*, and
chosen into Place for that very Reason.
'Twas with great Difficulty they got a ^{Ann. Vol. I.}
Bishop to crown the Queen, and at last^{p. 291}
it was one in a See no more considera-
C ble

ble than *Carlisle*. The Opposition from the *Popish Clergy* appear'd very soon.
Ann. Vol. I.
p. 44. & 56. In *Convocation*, as Mr. *Strype* says, they did notably bestir themselves, nor were they less active in other Places. "The Popish Priests and other Zealots took frequent Occasion, not only to preach, but to speak very untoward Words against the Queen, reflecting, as it seems, upon Queen Anne Bollen her Mother, and her own Legitimacy and Title to the Succession, and in favour of the Queen of Scots." This was another Embarrassment upon Queen Elizabeth; her Title to the Crown was disputed, and liable to Objections upon the Article of Illegitimacy. Her powerful Rival, Mary Queen of Scots, was in actual Possession of one Part of the Island, was of the same Religion with Elizabeth's Subjects, and to the Power of Scotland join'd that of France, where she had married the Heir of the Crown; so great was her Interest in England, that, as *Melvill*, who was not ignorant of these Matters, informs us, "Queen Elizabeth was in great Suspicion of her Estate, finding so many of her Subjects Favourers of the Queen of Scots." And so sanguine was Queen Mary, her Friends so many and powerful, that she assumed the Arms

Arms and Stile of Queen of England, Strype's Ann.
and sollicited the Pope to declare Eli-

zabeth's Title not to be good. Mr.

Strype justly observes "the Queen had ^{Ibid. p. 10.}

" still more Reason to be jealous of the
" Scots Title, since her Sister, the late
" Queen Mary, used to taunt her, by
" telling her often, that the Queen of
" Scots was the certain and undoubted
" Heir of the Crown of England, next
" after herself. Add, says he, to this,
" that the Cardinal of Lorrain, in a
" Conference with some Delegates
" from Spain at Cambray, about this
" time asserted, that his Niece the said
" Queen of Scots was most just Queen
" of England." Besides, it must be
remember'd, that against a Rival so
strongly supported, Queen Elizabeth
was very ill provided to make any
Opposition. The Crown was incum-
ber'd with immense Debts, the People
dispirited, the Fortifications ruinous.

" Queen Mary left the Kingdom in as ^{Strype's Ann.}

" low and miserable an Ebb as ever it ^{Vol. I. p. 2.}

" was known to have been in, in any
" former Times; embroil'd in War with
" France and Scotland; the Exchequer
" very low, that Queen having con-
tracted great Debts. By this means
" Elizabeth had formidable Enemies
" before her and behind her, but illy

[20]

Ibid. p. 3.

" guarded at *Portsmouth*, the *Isle of Wight*, *Dover*, against *France*; so that an Invasion was fear'd on that Side; and, on the *Scots* Quarters, *Berwick* was in a woful Condition, wanting both Fortifications and Men. The Lord Keeper *Bacon* seem'd justly sensible of the unhappy State of Affairs, when he represented to the Parliament " the great *Decays* and *Losses* of Honour, Strength, and Treasure, and the Peril that happen'd to this Imperial Crown of late Time. The marvellous *Waste* of the *Revenue* of the Crown, the inestimable *Consumption* of the *Treasure* levy'd both of the Crown and of the Subject; the exceeding *Loss* of *Ammunition* and Artillery; the great *Loss* of divers Valiant Gentlemen of good Service; the incredible Sums of Money owing at that present, and in Honour due to be paid, and the biting Interest that was to be answer'd for Forbearance of this Debt." Nor did the Face of Affairs abroad look more favourable for a Reformation, than those at home. So far was the Queen from being strengthened and supported by any foreign Alliance, that the most considerable Powers of Europe were ready to oppose any such Design. Her own Sub-

Sub-

Subjects very soon began to form *Conspiracies* with her foreign Enemies, even before her Coronation. "There were ^{Strype's Ann.} some already, says Mr. Strype, of^{p. 7.} the Popish Faction, contriving Mis- chief against the Queen, by setting up the *Scots Queen's Title*, and by getting Assistance from the *Guises* in France, to carry on their Designs in her Behalf." France was neither unwilling nor unprepared to give them *that Assistance*. This was not doubted by the Queen's Friends, "for it was con-^{Ibid. p. 11.} cluded at Court, and taken for granted, that the French meant to endeavour the Conquest of this Realm. They had now (as no less Man than Secretary Cecil observes in a Paper drawn up upon this Subject) "got an ^{Ibid.} Occasion to conquer Scotland, and had already Men of War there; and prepared a great Army both out of France and Almain, their Captains were appointed, their *Victuals* provided, their Ships in Rigging, they reckon'd within a Month to have their Wills in Scotland. That done, it seem'd most likely they would prosecute their Pretence against England, which had no Fort but Berwick to stay them, and that was unperfect, and would be so these two Years Day.

“ If they offer’d Battle with the
 “ *Almains*, there was great doubt how
 “ *England* would be able to sustain it,
 “ both for lack of good *Generals* and
 “ Great Captains, and principally for
 “ lack of *People*, considering the Waste
 “ that had lately been by Sicknes and
 “ Death these three last Years.” Thus
 far that Great Man. There was soon
 after the Queen’s Accession a Plan
 drawn for effecting a Reformation. It
 is needless to transcribe the Whole,
 which is to be seen in Bishop Burnet’s
History of the Reformation, but more
 correct in the Appendix to Mr. Strype’s
Annals of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I.
 However, as this is a Paper of Conse-
 quence and Authority, we shall tran-
 scribe that Part which contains the just
 Representations of the Dangers that
 were likely to follow a Reformation.

Vol. I. Appen. p. 4. “ What Dangers may ensue upon the
 “ Alteration ?

“ I. The Bishop of *Rome*, all that
 “ he may, will be *incensed*; he will
 “ *excommunicate* the Queen’s Highness,
 “ *interdict* the Realms, and give it to
 “ Prey to all Princes that will enter up-
 “ on it, and incite them thereto by all
 “ manner of Means.

“ II. The *French King* will be encou-
 “ raged more to the War, and make
 “ his

" his People more ready to fight against
 " us, not only as *Enemies*, but as *He-*
reticks. He will be in great Hope of
 " Aid from hence, of them that are
 " discontented with this Alteration,
 " looking for Tumult and Discord.
 " He will also stay concluding Peace,
 " upon Hope of some Alteration.

" III. *Scotland* will have some Causes
 " of Boldness; and by that way the
 " *French* King will seem soonest to at-
 " tempt to invade us.

" IV. *Ireland* also will very difficult-
 " ly be stay'd in their Obedience, by
 " reason of the Clergy that is so ad-
 " dicted to *Rome*.

" V. *Many People of our own* will
 " be very much discontented; especi-
 " ally these Sorts.

" 1. All such as govern'd in the late
 " Queen Mary's time, and were chosen
 " thereto for no other Cause, or were
 " then most esteem'd for being hot and
 " earnest in the other Religion, and
 " now remain Unplac'd and Uncall'd to
 " Credit, will think themselves discre-
 " dited, and all their Doings defaced,
 " and study all the Ways they can to
 " maintain their former Doings, and
 " despise all this Alteration.

" 2. *Bishops, and all the Clergy*
 " will see their own Ruin. In Con-
 " fession

" fession and Preaching, and all other
" ways they can, they will per-
" swade the People from it. They
" will conspire with whomsoever that
" will attempt, and pretend to do God
" a Sacrifice, in letting the Alteration,
" tho' it be with Murther of Christian
" Men, or Treason.

" 3. *Men which be of the Papist
Sect,* which late were in manner all
" the *Judges* of the Law, the *Justices*
" of the Peace, chosen out by the late
" Queen in all their Shires, such as
" were believed to be of that Sect; and
" the more earnest therein, the more
" in Estimation. These are like to join
with the Bishops and Clergy.

" 4. *Some, when the Subsidy shall
be granted,* and Money levied, (as
" it appeareth that necessarily it must
" be done) will be therewith offended;
" and like enough to *conspire and arise*,
" if they have any Head to stir them
to it, or Hope of Gain and Spoil.

" 5. *Many such as would gladly
have the Alteration from the Church
of Rome,* when they shall see perad-
venture, that *some old Ceremonies*
" shall be left still, or that *their Do-
ctrine* which they embrace, is not al-
" lowed and *commanded ONLY*, and
" all other abolished and disproved,
" shall

" shall be discontented, and call the
 " Alteration a *Cloaked Papistry*, or a
 " *Mingle-mangle*.

These were not imaginary Dangers ; the Queen was really exposed to them all. And as these *Difficulties* arose on the *Protestant Side*, so there were great *Temptations* to continue *Popery*. The avoiding so much Trouble and Hazard, must have had great Weight with a *Woman* of less Piety and Resolution than Queen *Elizabeth*. We find early *Interest*, much *Solicitation*, and great *Offers*, were made on the *Popish Side* ; Men of *Power* and Influence at *home*, the most considerable *Foreign Princes*, and even the *Pope* himself, interposed in this important Causē. There was one Offer of so much *Consequence*, that had the Queen's Heart been at all Popish, she must have paid great Regard to it. This was to confirm Queen *Elizabeth*'s Title to the *Crown*, and by this Means secure her against all Disturbance from her Subjects ; to overthrow the Claim of so formidable a Rival as the *Queen of Scots*, and fix her in the quiet and indisputable Possession of the Throne. No Body imagines Queen *Elizabeth* wanted Understanding to discern the Importance of this Offer ; but she had too

Strype's Ann.
Vol. I. p. 49.

Ibid. p. 14g.
Cambd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 40.

too much Zeal for the Protestant Religion to hearken to it, and her Refusal ought, in Justice, to be ascribed to this Cause only. Mr. N. 'tis true, has thought it no ungenerous or ungrateful Thing to assign another Reason for it, *Page 172, but the Queen would not part with her Supremacy.* Had her Heart been as Popish as his Pen describes it, she would have followed her Father's Example, in retaining many of the Popish Superstitions, and not have establish'd the Protestant Form of King *Edward*. She might have asserted her Supremacy, and made little Alteration in the publick Face of Religion. Mass might have been celebrated, the Popish Saints adored, and every other Abomination in the Worship of that corrupt Church, retained and inforced. The Queen might still have been Supreme, and by her Authority compelled her Subjects to comply. Thus Idolatry and Persecution, the worst Parts of Popery, would have reign'd triumphant in the Nation, and the Queen have maintain'd her Supremacy, as King *Henry VIII.* did.

Under this Head, it may not be improper to mention M. Rapin's Sentiments, so opposite to Mr. N's, of Queen *Elizabeth's Religion.* "I don't believe

Rapin's Hist.
Eliz. sub fin.

" lieve (says that Historian) any Body
" ever question'd her being a *true Pro-*
" *testant.*" Her Letter to *Henry IV.*
upon his turning Papist, is so expressive
of an inward Conviction, and the great
Regard she had for the Protestant Re-
ligion, that, in Justice to her injured
Memory, it shall be laid before the
Reader; 'tis preserved in *Camden* and
Rapin in the following Words.

*IT is hardly possible to express the
extreme Grief and Dissatisfaction,
which has seized me, upon Morley's
Representation of Things. Good God,
what a miserable World do we live in!
Could I ever have thought, Sir, that
any secular Consideration could have
prevailed with you, to discard a just
Sense of God and his Fear? or, can
you ever reasonably expect, that Prov-
idence will grant this Change of yours
a happy Issue? or, could you entertain
a Jealousy, that the gracious Being,
who had so long supported and preser-
ved you, would fail and abandon you,
at last? it is, believe me, a dangerous
Experiment, to do Evil that Good may
come. But I hope, you may be yet re-
covered to a better Inclination, even the
Spirit of a sound Mind. In the mean
Time, I shall not cease to recommend
your*

your Case to God, in my Daily Prayers, and earnestly to beseech him, that Esau's Hands may not pollute the Blessing and Birth-right of Jacob. The Promise you made of a sacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive myself to have deserved, and even earned at a vast Expence. But I had not mattered that, had you still kept your self the Son of the same Father. From henceforth I cannot look on myself as your Sister, in respect to our common Father; for I must, and shall always, pay a much greater Regard to Nature than Choice, in that Relation: As I may appeal to God, whom I beseech to recover you into the Path of a safer and sounder Judgment.

Your Sister after the Old-fashioned Way, as for the New I have nothing to do with it,

ELIZABETH.

Upon the Whole, 'tis hardly possible to conceive Circumstances more discouraging to a Reformation, than those in which Providence, to give her Virtues the greater Lustre, placed this renowned Queen. Her very Sex, in a Case where there was so much Difficulty and

and Danger, seems no incon siderable Disadvantage — An exceptionable and disputed Title, a powerful *Rival*, an empty *Treasure*, no Friend, no Alliance abroad to support her ; at Home, the Clergy, the Magistrates, the Populace, all against her in the Alteration. At the same time, the inviting Allurements of Quiet and Security in a Throne, to engage her to continue Religion as she found it. Such a State of Affairs illustrates the Warmth and Sincerity of the Queen's *Zeal* for the Protestant Religion, and shews the *Necessity* of her using great *Prudence* and *Caution* in the Introduction and Establishment thereof. That the Queen proceeded with Zeal and Prudence, will appear upon a Survey of her Conduct. 'Tis a considerable Argument in favour of her Measures, that they did, by the Blessing of God, effectually establish the Protestant Religion against the most violent and most universal Opposition that could possibly be made to it. What would have been the Success of other Methods and other Schemes, 'tis no small Felicity we are not able to determine. However, let us take a general View of the Queen's Proceedings which were so successful.

" The

[30]

Ann. Eliz.

Vol. I. p. 38. cc

" The Queen *says* Mr. Strype, was not backward, upon her *first* coming to the Crown, to shew her *merciful* *Nature* (so different therein from her late Sister) toward the *afflicted* *Professors* of the Gospel in *Bonds* and *Imprisonment*; and for putting a *speedy* Stop to the *cruel* Methods used before, for the detecting them in all Places, and taking them up by a kind of *Spanish* Inquisition; so as became a Prince that intended not to rule with Rigour, but Justice and Clemency. One of her *earliest* Actions was to *release* the *Captives*, and to restore Liberty to the Free-born. Therefore Orders from above were sent to the Keepers of the Prisons, wheresoever these honest and pious People were detain'd, that they should set them at Liberty, taking their own Bonds for their Appearance, whensoever they should be call'd to answer." Besides, setting these poor Prisoners at Liberty, and enquiring into the Execution of a *Commission* in the late Reign against *Lollards*, and calling the Commissioners to an Account for their Proceedings, the Queen published a Proclamation, wherein she allow'd the Gospel and Epistle for the Day, the Ten Commandments,

the

the Litany, the Lord's Prayer and Creed in *English*, which she had begun to use in her own Chapel, where she had forbid a Popish Bishop that officiated, to elevate the Host; and as a farther publick Profession of her Regard to the Holy Scripture, she received the Bible in *English* with great Marks of Regard at *Cheapside Conduit*, in a Procession thro' the City. Considering the Queen was in the Infancy of a disputed Government, and had not the Authority of Parliament to support her in these Proceedings, it shew'd great Regard for *true Religion*, to venture so far herself. Mr. N. sure was ignorant of all these Transactions, when he so positively asserted, "the only ^{N's Hist.} Thing her Majesty did before the ^{123.}" Meeting of the Parliament, was to prevent Pulpit Disputes.

But the grand Affair was the Establishment of Religion by the Authority of the whole Legislature. This, considering the State of the Nation, must proceed originally from the Queen, be conducted by the Wisdom of her Councils, encouraged and supported by her Authority. The Temptations were strong on the Side of Popery. Powerful Sollicitations and important Proposals employ'd in its favour. But the Piety

CAMD. ANN.
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Piety of the Queen was resolute enough to surmount all these. Under the greatest Discouragements, she resolves to attempt the Establishment of the Protestant Religion. An *Undertaking* extremely *hazardous* as well as *difficult*!—Here a Question of great Consequence naturally arises. What *Form* shall be established? Those who had separated from the Church of *Rome*, were not unanimous in their *Opinions*, nor did they agree in one uniform *Manner* of Worship. The *Calvinists* and the *Lutherans* (not to mention others) had great Differences among themselves, and each of them their Party. 'Twas impossible for the Queen to fall in absolutely with either of these, and not offend the other. And as she put herself at the Head of the whole Protestant Interest, it must give her great Strength and Influence, not to be too much bigotted to a single Branch of it. Her Circumstances requir'd great Cautio-
n. But Christian *Prudence* and Christian *Charity* happily concurr'd in recommending such an Establishment of Religion as might include the greatest Number of *Protestants*, and give her the Assistance of wise and moderate Men of all Parties.— Besides, as the Nation in general was *Popish*, it plainly appear'd
an

an *Act* of great *Compassion* to many *Thousand Souls*, as well as necessary to the Queen's Safety and the Success of the Reformation, to contrive, if it were possible, such a Form of *Worship*, without *Idolatry*, as might keep the Popish People in the Church, and so give them an Opportunity of being instructed in the Principles of true Religion; which, if they had been hastily driven away, they could never have had; and in all Probability, such *unseasonable Austerity* must have occasion'd a general Revolt and *Insurrection* in favour of the *Queen of Scots*, the Popish Heir, which would have *destroy'd* Queen *Elizabeth*, and with her the Protestant Religion: For notwithstanding all the Precaution that was used, there were some *Insurrections* in favour of Popery. The true Scheme therefore, the wisest and most charitable, was to unite, if possible, the different Parties of Protestants, and yet (due *Regard* being still had to the *Essentials* of Religion) to engage the Papists to come to Church. Let us consider a little what Methods were propos'd, before we examine that which the Queen chose. By Mr. N's whole Account, the Reader must imagine, that the Contest about Religion was only between the Corruptions of

D

Popery

Vid. p. 56.
170. 180. 22
alibi sapiss.

Popery and the Purity of the Gospel. But surely it is a very great Omission not to take any Notice of the Protestant Brethren of the LUTHERAN Church, as if they deserved no Regard or Consideration, when the Plan of an Establishment was forming. The Reader will judge how important this Omission is, by what Mr. Strype says in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, “A difficult Work this that was now taking in hand; the Reformation of Corrupt Religion, being the harder to bring to pass, because there was not only in this Juncture a formidable Popish Party to struggle with, but a Lutheran Party also; for there was not a few now that, in the Alteration of Religion, would endeavour to have it settled according to the *Augustan Confession.*” Those that were for having this the establish’d Form, gave a Reason for it that was not without Weight, *the better to join in League with the German Protestants*, and thereby support and strengthen that Interest here. The Number of those who favour’d the *Lutheran Scheme*, was so considerable, and the Arguments they used so much regarded, that many were apprehensive they would carry their Point. “There were Thoughts now

“

“ of

Ann. Vol. I.
p. 53.

Ibid. p. 174.

" of receiving the *Augustan Confession*,
 " the better to join in *League* with
 " the *German Protestants*, as one of
 " the Bishops wrote to a foreign Di-
 " vine." There is a very remarkable
 Letter from the learned *Bullinger*,
 chief Pastor of the Church of *Zurich*,
 upon this Occasion. " I see, says he,^{Ibid.}
 " no small Disturbances like to arise,
 " even in *England* also, if the *Augu-*
stan Confession be received, which
 " some would have; a thing very un-
 worthy in many Regards. This,
 " says he, gives Vexation to all the
 purer Churches, and would infect
 them all with its Leaven. I pray
 God restrain Men otherwise pious,
 but sufficiently troublesome to godly
 Men and the purer Religion. And
 you know what was done in *POLAND*,
 beware, and lay to your helping
 Hand, that it be not received." He
 then adds a Declaration of great Im-
 portance, " KING EDWARD'S REFOR-
 MATION SATISFIETH THE GODLY.

Video &c in Anglia non modicas obituras turbas, si quod
 quidam (rem indignissimam multis modis) postulant, recipi-
 piatur *Augustana Confessio*. Vexat hæc omnes Ecclesiæ fin-
 cieriores, & cupit suo fermento inficeré omnes. Deus co-
 heret homines satis alioquin pios, at pietati puriori mo-
 lesto. Et tu scis quid factum sit in Polonia. Cave, &
 adjuva ne recipiatur. Satisfacit piis Edwardi Reformatio-
 nis Epist. MS. in Biblioth. Eccles. Belg. Lond. Vide Strype.

The Reader will certainly remember, that *this* was the *Advice* and the *Judgment* of so considerable a Calvinist as Bullinger, at a Time when this Matter was under Debate. From him we learn, that King *Edward's* Reformation was the most advisable Scheme, and would give Satisfaction to all pious Men. *Satisfacit* (in the Present Tense intimating not only, that it had satisfied them in King *Edward's* Reign, but that it did so now) *Satisfacit piis Edwardi Reformatio.*

But, besides the *Lutherans*, there were other Protestants, particularly some of those who had lived at *Geneva*, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, that earnestly pref'd to have the Form of *Worship* and *Discipline* they had used in that Place establish'd here. They, as it was natural for them, gave the Preference to their own Model, as the *Lutherans* did to theirs. The Number of the *Geneva* Exiles was very *inconsiderable*, compared with those that were dispersed at the many other Places.

N's Hist.
p. 123.

Troubles of
Franctort,
p. 186.
Edit. 1575.

Mr. N. observes, that those of *Geneva* [only] wrote to their Brethren of *Arrow*, *Basil*, *Francfort*, *Strasburgh*, and *Wormes* (&c. as it is in the Original, should have been added) desiring mutual Forgiveness [of what happen'd at

at *Francfort*] and that they would unite their Endeavours to obtain such a Form of Worship as they had seen practised in (what they call'd) the best reformed Churches. The others, who were of different Sentiments, reply'd, that it would not be in their Power to appoint what Ceremonies should be observed ; but they were determin'd to submit to things indifferent, and hoped those of *Geneva* would do so too :

" And that whereas all the reformed *Ibid. p. 189.*
 " Churches differ among themselves in
 " divers Ceremonies, and yet agree in
 " the Unity of *Doctrine*; we see no
 " Inconveniencie, [say they] if we use
 " some Ceremonies divers from them,
 " so that we agree in the chief Points
 " of our Religion." The Letter from
 the Church of *Geneva* was sign'd by
 eleven Persons, *Christopher Goodman*,
Miles Coverdale, *John Knox*, *John
 Bodly*, *William Williams*, *Anthony
 Gilby*, *Francis Withers*, *William Fult-
 ler*, *John Pullen*, *William Bevoyet*,
William Whittingham. These sign'd
 in the Name of the Church, That
 of *Francfort* was said to be most nu-
 merous, and amounted only to about *Mem. Refor.
 Vol. III.*
 80 Persons; but making the greatest *Troubles of
 Allowances*, we cannot suppose, that *Francfort,*
 the Church of *Geneva*, Ministers and *p. 133.*

People, did, at most, amount to One Hundred: And of these Ministers several, tho' they prefer'd the Geneva Model, yet could, and actually did comply with the established Form, and were Beneficed in the Church.

Let us then take an impartial View of this Matter, and in order to form a Judgment, remember what Mr. N. says, Pag. 42. with an Air of Triumph against Bishop Burnet, " is it reasonable
" that the Majority should depart from
" their Sentiments in Religion, because
" the PRINCE with the Minority are of
" another Mind ? " Sure then, if the Minority, even with the supreme Magistrate on their Side, had no Right to an Establishment (for it is of that the Bishop is speaking, and to that Mr. N. objects) a Minority without the Prince, so small a Number as should not be called a Minority, an Handful of Men, were extreamly unreasonable to expect the Establishment of their own Form of Worship, and the Extirpation of every other. If the vast Numbers of Papists, Lutherans, and of those both from abroad and at home, who were for King Edward's Reformation, be consider'd, what Pretence, what Shadow of a Pretence had a single Hundred of Men from Geneva to claim the Sanction

ction of publick Authority, to enjoin and enforce their Scheme ? a Project as impracticable as it was unreasonable !

Thus, the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* were each for their Plan ; but there was a third Proposal, *King Edward's Reformation*. It happens very unluckily that Mr. N's, or, if he pleases, the *Puritans Objections* to this Plan, as it was re-established by Queen *Elizabeth*, are really so many *Arguments* in its Favour, with respect to the several Parts of it, *Doctrine, Government and Worship*.

As to the first Point, indeed, there was but little Difference ; however a Censure is pass'd upon the Queen by Mr. N. himself, for not being *rigid enough* in her Opinions, and among other Faults laid to her Charge, she is ^{N's Hist.} sp. 123. blamed for being fond of old Rites and Ceremonies, thinking her Brother had stripp'd Religion too much of its Ornaments, and made the *Doctrines of the Church* too narrow in some Points. Something of the like Nature is insinuated in one of the famous *Admonitions* to the Parliament, for the extirpating the Episcopal Government, and the establishing the *Geneva Platform*, or, in their Stile, the *Holy Discipline*, wherein the Puritans make the follow-

ing Declarations : " For the Articles
 " concerning the Substance of *Doctrine*
 " using a Godly Interpretation, in a
 " Point or two, which are either too
 " sparingly, or else too *darkly* set down,
 " we are, and are ready according to
 " Duty, to subscribe unto them." For
 this, and other the like Reasons, Mr.
 N. gives them the Character of being
zealous Calvinists ; and Mr. Fuller

Fuller lib. 9. observes, " some have unjustly taxed
 p. 72. " the Composers for *too much* Favour
 " extended in their large Expressions,
 " clean thro' the Contexture of these
 " Articles —— which were penn'd in
 " comprehensive Words, to take in *all*
 " who differing in the *Branches* meet
 " in the *Root* of the same Religion." That the Articles of the Church of *England* are so *sparingly* set down as not to countenance the severest Notions of *zealous* Calvinists, is certainly true, and has been often proved, but especially by a late judicious, learned and moderate Writer, in a Piece, intituled, *An Apology for the Church of England*; printed for *E. Widwinter* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. This Gentleman has shewn, beyond all Contradiction, that the *Articles* were compiled with a *Latitude*, that fairly admits a Subscription from those of the Senti-

Sentiments of *Arminius*, as well as *Calvin*. He observes, that among the Compilers, there were several Anti-Calvinians; and, as those who compiled the Articles were not all Calvinists themselves, so they were very far from designing to frame Articles upon the rigid Calvinistic Notions. That as these Reformers were known to be Men of Temper, Prudence and Moderation, 'tis but Justice to suppose, that in Points so nice and intricate, they intended such a Latitude as would admit Subscription, by moderate Persons, of what is now called the Arminian, as well as of the Calvinistic Opinion. This Temper, so agreeable to the general Principles upon which the Church of *England* was established, they likewise observed, with respect to the Article of Christ's *Descent* into *Hell*; for tho' there are several Opinions about it, yet they have not specially determined which is the true one; and were particularly careful in the Review of the Articles, to strike out that Passage, which decided upon the Point. That, as the supposing the Articles left *in medio*, between *moderate* and *rigid* CALVINISTS does not make them useless; so neither does the leaving them *in medio*, between moderate *Arminians*

ans and modere *Calvinists*, make them of no Use, because they exclude other Notions, which both Parties agreed in condemning ; in particular, the ill Use that the Gospellers made of Predestination, which brings them, as Bishop *Latimer* exprest it, either to *Desperation* or *carnal Liberty*.

He likewise appeals to the Articles themselves, and mentions several Particulars held by the Arminians, by which he observes it easily appears, that *no one Proposition* in all the Doctrines of the Church of *England* concerning *Predestination*, is contradicted by them. He takes Notice likewise of some Particulars in which the Articles do *not agree* with the *Calvinistic Scheme*; they no where declare, that the Decrees of God were made without any Regard to the good or bad Behaviour of Men; but what is most remarkable is, that they actually *differ* from the Calvinists in that material Article of *universal Redemption*; expressly asserting that Christ's Death is a perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for *all* the Sins of the *whole World*; that this Opinion runs thro' all the Offices of the Church, and is directly opposite to the Calvinistic Notion, that Christ dyed *only* for the *Elect*; or in the Words of the

Weft-

Westminster Confession, neither are any other redeemed by Christ. This Point of universal Redemption, is the chief Article of the Dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists ; and, as he observes from Dr. Whitby, who was well skilled in that Controversy, draws all the rest after it. Here the Church differs from the Calvinists.

That agreeably to this publick Declaration of our Church, the private Writings of the most eminent Reformers, such as Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, Bishop Hooper, &c. speak in the same Strain ; he has produced Quotations from them. He further observes, that the principal Occasion of Calvinism taking any Root among the English Clergy, was in Queen Mary's Reign, when many of the Exiles fell into the Calvinistic Notions, which they learned at Geneva, Zurich, and other Calvinistic Churches ; that, notwithstanding this, several considerable Divines were of different Sentiments, and the Articles continued, without any material Alterations, as to these Points, under Queen Elizabeth, the same they were under K. Edward. When these were compiled in that King's Reign, it does not appear any Deference was paid to Calvin's Judgment

ment or Authority ; instead of that, the Assistance he offered was, to his no little Grief and Dissatisfaction, refused. He likewise observes that, in drawing up the Articles, the Compilers next to the Scripture and Doctrine of the primitive Church, had an Eye to the *Augustan Confession*, the Writings of *Melancthon*, who was invited over hither ; the Works of *Erasmus* ; and the *Erudition of a Christian Man*. This Book was published in King *Henry's* Reign, and had the Approbation of most of those who compiled the Articles ; and, 'tis very express against the *Calvinistic* Notions, as to universal Redemption, falling from Grace, and Free Will. As the Articles were composed chiefly by Persons, not of *Calvinistic* Sentiments, and underwent no material Alterations as to these Points, in the Review ; so they must, at least, be thought to be left *in medio* ; and, accordingly he remarks some of the *Calvinists*, *Cartwright* and his Followers in the Admonition, &c. objected to the Articles for this Reason. The Candour of this Gentleman will forgive the Freedom that is taken with his Performance in drawing this imperfect Sketch, only design'd to excite the Reader to peruse the whole of it.

'Tis

'Tis easy to observe, that Mr. N.
too readily falls into the narrow Spirit
of his Puritan Friends, when he con-
demns this Latitude, and reflects upon
the Queen, for being inclin'd to think,
that Articles might be *too narrow.* N's Hist.

When the Reader observes what is p. 123.

said by *Bishop Burnet* upon this Head,
he will easily determine whether the
Queen's Moderation deserves to be cen-
sured or commended :

" From the Preface to
" Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, says this Hist. of the
Reformat.
" eminent Prelate — Things did ge- Vol. II.
" nerally put on a new *Visage*; and
" this Church has, since that Time,
" continued to be the Sanctuary and
" Shelter of all Foreigners, and the
" chief Object of the *Envy* and *Hatred*
" of the *Popish* Church, and the great
" Glory of the Reformation, and has
" wisely avoided the splitting asunder,
" upon the high Points of the *Divine*
" Decrees, which have broken so many
" of the *Reformed* beyond Sea, but in
" these has left Divines to the Free-
" dom of their several Opinions. Nor
" did she run on that other Rock of
" defining, at first, so peremptorily,
" the Manner of Christ's Presence, in
" the Sacrament which divided the
" German and *Helvetian* Churches;
" but

" but in that did also leave a *Latitude*
" to Men of different Persuasions.

P. 138.

This charitable and useful *Latitude*,
as to the *real Presence*, is unhappily
another *Objection* with Mr. N. " The
" Rubric, says he, that declared, that
" by kneeling at the Sacrament, no
" Adoration was intended to any Cor-
" poral Presence of Christ, was ex-
" punged." What then? why for this
and other Reasons as weak and ground-
less, Queen Elizabeth's *Common Prayer Book* was hardly equal to King Edward's! Dr. Humphreys and Sampson, two Heads of the Nonconformists, mention it in a Letter to Zurich, as a *Grievance* ('tis their own Word.) The Article which explain'd the Manner of Christ's Presence is taken away: Had the Calvinists or Puritans been obliged to acknowledge any corporal Presence, or had it been declared there was any in the Sacrament, the Objection would have had some Weight: But as the Lutheran Sense was not forced upon them, it was very unreasonable Narrowness to be displeased, that their Sense was not imposed upon the Lutherans. Why should one be excluded more than another by a particular Explication? Each thought themselves in the Right, and it was a more candid

P. 139.

P. 197.

did Method of Proceeding, and a fair Compromise, tho' disapproved by the Puritans and their Historian, that each should enjoy his own Sense, without fixing it upon the other.

"Indeed (says Mr. Fuller) most of the ^{p. 72.}
 " Composers of the Articles had formerly been *Sufferers themselves*, and cannot be said in compiling these
 " Articles (an acceptable Service no doubt) to offer to God what cost them nothing, some having paid *Imprisonment*, others *Exile*, all Loss in their
 " Estates for this their experimental Knowledge in Religion, which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those Points ; seeing such, who themselves have been the most patient in bearing, will be most pitiful in burthening the Consciences of others." But as was observed before, the Difference as to Doctrines was not great, and consisted chiefly in this, that the Sentiments in the *Establishment* were more charitable and comprehensive than those of the Calvinists.

But since the Sacrament is mention'd, upon Account of the real Presence, it may not be improper to take Notice of another Circumstance attending that Ordinance. It seems kneeling was enjoin'd, as being thought a Posture most proper

proper to express a due Sense of the great Love and Goodness of our blessed Saviour in dying for Mankind : That Kneeling is a Scriptural Posture of Worship is not deny'd. The Question therefore is, Whether in so solemn an Act of Worship as *Humiliation* for those Sins which were the Occasion of our Saviour's Death, and *Thanksgiving* for his wonderful Goodness in laying down his Life ; whether in such Acts of Worship any Posture can be *too* respectful and submissive ? There are no *Christians* who have not departed from the original Institution in some Circumstances, such as the *Time*, the *Place*, the *Manner*, the *Company* ; nay, and the very *Posture*. Bishop Burnet observes, " it was
 Vol. II. p. 170. " apparent in our Saviour's Practice,
 " that the Jewish Church had CHANGED the Posture of that Institution
 " of the Passover, in whose Room the Eucharist came : For, tho' Moses had appointed the Jews to eat their Paschal Lamb, standing with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shoes on their Feet ; yet the Jews did afterwards change this into the Common-Table-Posture ; of which Change, tho' there is no mention in the Old Testament, yet we see it was so in our Saviour's Time.
 " And

" And since he comply'd with the common Custom, we are sure that Change was not criminal. It seem'd reasonable to allow the Christian Church the like Power in such things with the *Jewish*: And as the *Jews* thought their coming into the promised Land might be a Warrant to lay aside the Posture appointed by Moses, which became Travellers best; so Christ being now exalted, it seem'd fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward Respect, than had been proper in the first Institution, when he was in the State of *Humiliation*, and his Divine Glory not yet so fully reveal'd. 'Tis true, Kneeling was abused, and so was the *Feasting Posture*, as 'tis call'd by Mr. N. p. 238. Of this the Excesses at some *Love Feasts* are too good a Proof. But Mr. N. mentions standing at the *Sacrament*; whereas the Puritans as strictly enjoin'd sitting as the Church did kneeling. The Injunction they made on this Head is in these Words. " The Exhortation ended, " the Minister coming down from the Pulpit, sitteth at the Table, EVERY Man and Woman in like wise, taking their Place, as Occasion best serveth; then he taketh Bread, and giveth Thanks, &c." This then is the State of

The Service,
etc. used in
the English
Church of Ge-
neva, as it was
approved by
the Most Revd
Mr. John Cal-
vin, and the
Church of
Scotland, p. 48.

the Case. The Posture of *sitting* enjoin'd by the *Puritans* was calculated for *none but themselves*, and must have excluded many others; whereas the Posture of *kneeling* was not only *approv'd* by the Friends of *King Edward's Reformation*, but was *necessary* to keep the *Lutherans*, and *many* who, in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, had been *seduced* to *Popery* (to whom some *Regard* and *Compassion* was due) in the *Communion* of the Church. This humble and decent Posture of *kneeling* is sometimes call'd *Popery* and *Idolatry*; upon which Censure Bishop *Burnet* makes
vol. II. p. 171. the following Remark. " In the primitive Church they received standing and bending their Body in a Posture of *Adoration*. But how soon that Gesture of *Kneeling* came in, is not so exactly observed, nor is it needful to know. But surely there is great Want of *Ingenuity* in them that are pleased to apply these Orders of some latter Popes for kneeling at the ELEVATION, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one such Part, which might be more liable to Exception, but during the whole Office: By which it is one continued Act of Worship, and the Communicants kneel all the while.

There

There is another very important Difference, that makes it easy to judge on which Side *Christian Charity* and Forbearance lay. The Rubrick of the Church, which relates to the *Admission* of the Communicants, is in these Words.

And if any of these [who have signified their Intention to partake of the Holy Communion] be an open and notorious Evil Liver, or have done any Wrong to his Neighbour by Word or Deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended, the Curate having Knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table until, &c. Let us now see what was the Method settled upon the Principles of their Discipline for the *Admission* of Men and Women to the Church and Sacrament. 'Tis as follows.

" *The Manner of Receiving all Sorts* Troubles of
" *of Persons into the said Congregation.* Francfort,
" First, for the avoiding of all He-^{p. 127. Edit.}
" resies and Sects in our Churches, every
" one, as well Men as Women, which
" desire to be received, shall make a
" Declaration, or *Confession* of their
" Faith before the Ministers and El-
" ders, shewing himself fully to con-
" sent and agree with the Doctrine of
" the Church, and submitting them-
" selves to the Discipline of the same,

" and the same to testify, by subscrib-
" ing thereto, if they can write.

And that no Man might ever deviate from the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, after he was admitted, they appointed the following Method of *Enquiry*; " And that every Member of the Congregation do not refuse to render a Declaration of their Faith, before the Ministers and Elders, whensoever they shall by them be thereunto required." The *Holy Discipline*, &c. enjoins; Let them only be admitted to the Communion, that have made *Confession* of their Faith, and submitted themselves to the *Discipline*, unless they bring Letters Testimonial, &c. What a large Field for Reflection is here? But the Reader shall be left to his own Thoughts upon the Topicks so often employ'd in the Cause of this Holy Discipline, *Unwar-rantable Impositions*, *Scripture the only Rule*, *Christian Liberty*, &c. Every unprejudic'd Person will easily determine whether he would rather be obliged to commemorate, kneeling, the dying Love of his Saviour, which was a necessary Means to keep many weak Brethren in a Protestant Church, or be compell'd to subscribe to their *Doctrine and Discipline*, in order to partake of the Holy Sacrament, and be also equally obliged to

to sit, and thereby keep up a Division between the Reform'd Churches. Mr. *Fuller* mentions this distinguishing Moderation to the Honour of the Church of *England*. " No *Lay-Person* (says he) *Lib. 9. p. 72.*
 " was required to subscribe, no *Magistrate*, none of the *Commons*, accord-
 " ing to the Severity in other Places.
 " For the Persecuted *Church of Eng-*
land in *Francfort* in Queen *Mary* her
 " Days, demanded Subscription to their
 " Discipline of every Man, yea, even
 " of *Women*.

Mr. *N*'s next Objection to King *Edward*'s Reformation, is the Form of the *Ecclesiastical Government*; and yet here again the good Queen wisely chose not only the *most Christian*, but the *most moderate* and Catholick Scheme of Church Government. The Holy *Scriptures*, and the unquestionable Usage of the *Primitive Church*, were abundantly sufficient to recommend the Appointment of *Bishops*. But as this *Episcopal* Form of Governing the Church was better suited to the Form of the *Civil Government* in *England*, (however a different Manner might suit the *little Republick of Geneva*) as most of the Reformed *Churches in Germany* had the *same Form* in Effect, changing only the old *Greek Names* (as *Zanchius*

Observat. *vid.* reporteth) of *Archbishops* and *Bishops*
Survey, &c. into new and worse Latin Names of
p. 117. *Superintendents* and *General Superin-*

tendents. As the more moderate *Cal-*
vinists, and their great Leader, *Calvin*
himself, allow'd of this *Superiority* of
Bishops, and thought it very useful.
In the Chapter, which was wrote upon
the *State* of the *Church*, and the Manner
of Governing before the *Papacy*,
he expresses himself after this manner.

" It will be very advantageous, in con-
" sidering the Manner of Governing
" the Church, and the severall Orders
" of Ministers, to observe the Form of

Calvin. Institut. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. De statu veteris Ecclesiæ,
& ratione gubernandi que in usu fuit ante Papatum. Utile
erit in iis rebus [de ordine gubernandæ ecclesiæ & mini-
steriis] veteris ecclesiæ formam recognoscere, quæ nobis
divinæ institutionis imaginem quandam oculis repræsentab-
it. Tametsi enim multis Canones ediderunt illorum tem-
porum Episcopi quibus plus viderentur exprimere quam
sacris libris expressum esset; et tamen cautione totam su-
am cœconomiam composueruat ad unicam illam verbi Dei
normam, ut facile videoas nihil sere hac parte habuisse a
verbo Dei alienum — Quibus ergo docendi munus in-
junctum erat, eos omnes nominabant Presbyteros. Illi
ex suo numero in singulis civitatibus unum eligeant, cui
specialiter dabant titulum Episcopi, ne ex aquitate, ut fieri
solet, dissidia nascerentur. — Quod autem singulæ provin-
ciæ unum habebant inter Episcopos Archiepiscopum: quod
item in Nicena Synodo constituti sunt Patriarchæ, qui essent
ordine & dignitate Archiepiscopis superiores, id ad discipli-
na conservationem perinebat — Gubernationem sic con-
stitutam nonnulli Hierarchiam vocarunt nomine (ut mihi
videtur, impropto: certè Scripturis inusitato) — Verum
si rem omisso vocabulo intuemur, reperiemus veteres Epis-
copos non aliam regendæ Ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere
ab ea quam Deus verbo suo præscripsit.

" the

" the ancient Church, which represents
 " to us an Image of the Divine Insti-
 " tution. For altho' the *Bishops* of
 " those Times published many *Canons*,
 " in which they seem to express more
 " than is expressed in the Holy Scriptures;
 " yet they framed their whole *OEco-*
 " *nomy* with so much Regard to that
 " only Rule, the *Word of God*, that
 " you may easily see, they have scarce
 " any thing, in this respect, different
 " from the Word of God.—All those
 " who were enjoin'd the *Duty of teach-*
 " *ing*, they called *Presbyters*. These,
 " in *every City*, chose one of their
 " own Number, to whom they specially
 " gave the Name of *Bishop*, lest, as
 " commonly happens, *Dissentions* should
 " arise from an *Equality*.—That eve-
 " ry Province had among the *Bishops*
 " one *Archbishop*, and that in the
 " Council of *Nice*, *Patriarchs* were
 " appointed superior to *Archbishops* in
 " Order and Dignity, this appertained
 " to the Preservation of Discipline.—
 " The Government so constituted some
 " call the *Hierarchy*, an improper Word,
 " (as I think) certainly not used in
 " Scripture.—But to pass by the Word,
 " if we regard the thing itself, we
 " shall find that the *ancient Bishops*
 " were willing to frame no other Form

" of Governing the Church, than that
 " which God had prescribed in his
 " Word." Another Writer speaks to
 Survey of the this Purpose. " As God himself ap-
 pret. Holy cc pointed an Inequality amongst the
 Discipline, " Priests in the Old Testament; as by
 p. 142. " Christ's Institution, and in his own
 " time, the Apostles were superior to
 " the Seventy Disciples: As the Apo-
 " stles, when the Gospel began to
 " spread itself, appointed sundry Timo-
 " thies, and Titus, to govern the
 " Churches in divers Countries and
 " Territories: As all the Ecclesiastical
 " Histories do record the Superiority
 " of Bishops, and do set down the
 " Catalogues of many of them, and
 " which of the Apostles and Apostolical
 " Bishops, and in what Cities and
 " Countries they succeeded: As all
 " the Ancient General Councils, and
 " all the ancient and godly learned
 " Fathers have allowed of Bishops,
 " and of their Superiority over the rest
 " of the Clergy: As Bishops have been
 " accounted generally throughout the
 " World, to be the Apostles Succes-
 " tors, and have continued in the
 " Church ever since the Apostles time:
 " As there was never any one of all
 " the ancient Fathers, nor any learned
 " Men for Fifteen Hundred Years, but
 " Aerius

" Aerius the Heretick, that ever held
" that there ought to be *no* Difference
" betwixt a Bishop and a Priest (I mean
" an ordinary Minister of the Word :)
" and that *his Opinion* was imputed
" unto him 1200 Years hence by *Epi-*
" *phanius* and St. *Austin*, for an Herer-
" sy: As all the *chief* of the learned
" Men, that were the principal Instru-
" ments, under God, in this latter
" Age, for the *Restitution* of the *Gos-*
" *pel*, allow'd fully of *Bishops*, and
" of their Authority, and would wil-
" lingly have submitted themselves to
" their Obedience, if they might have
" been received with any tolerable Con-
" ditions: As all the *Reform'd Churches*
" in *Germany*, that do embrace the
" *Augustan Confession*, have (for the
" most part) their *Superintendents* and
" *General Superintendents*, the same
" in effect with our *Bishops* and *Archbi-*
" *shops*: As the *chiefest* of the *German*
" *Writers*, now living, do *justify* the
" Calling and Offices of their *Superin-*
" *tendents* and *General Superintendents*
" by the *Word of God*: As *none* of lat-
" ter Times ever *condemn'd* the Calling
" and Authority of such *Bishops* and
" *Archbishops*, as embrace the *Gospel*
" (for ought I find) but *Beza* and his
" *Scholars*. As *Zanchius*, a Favourer
" " of

" of the Eldership Equality, and now
 Beza contra " Beza himself joining with him, do
 Sacra. p. 143. " both of them confess, that the Cal-
 ling and Authority of *Bishops* and
 Ibid. p. 115. " *Archbishops* may be defended; that
 & 116. " they did proceed from the *Holy Ghost*,
 " and that there is *nothing* more ma-
 nifest in all the Ecclesiastical *Histo-*
 " *ries*, all the ancient *Councils*, and in
 " the Writings of all the ancient *Fa-*
 " *thers*, than the Allowance of them,
 " throughout all Christendom." Not-
 withstanding all this, Mr. N. is extreamly
 fond of a Parity among the Clergy,
 and has taken *too much* Pains in that
 Cause. 'Twas an *Excess of Zeal* to
 pres' the pious *Reformers* and King
 Edward's *Ordinal* into this Service:
 " The Committee (says he) soon finish-
 ed their *Ordinal*, which is almost
 the same with that now in Use:
 " they take no Notice in their Book of
 the lower Orders in the Church of
 Rome, as Subdeacons, Readers, Aco-
 lytes, &c. but confine themselves to
 Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and
 here it is observable, that the FORM
 of Ordaining a *Priest*, and a *Bishop*
 IS THE SAME, there being no express
 Mention in the Words of Ordination
 whether it be for the one or the other
 Office: This has been alter'd of late
 " Years,

N's Hist.
 p. 63, 64.

" Years, since a Distinction of the two
 " Orders has been so generally admit-
 " ted ; but that was *not* the received
 " *Doctrine of these Times.*" Thus
 again. " We may observe (says he) *Ibid. p. 82.*
 " from the History of this Reign [King
 " *Edward's*] that the first *Reformers*
 " believed *but* two Orders of Church-
 " men in Holy Scripture, *viz.* *Bishops*
 " and *Deacons* ; and consequently the
 " *Bishops and Priests* were *but* different
 " Ranks or Degrees of the *same Order.* *Ibid. p. 494.*
 " In like Manner elsewhere.
 " Our first *Reformers* admitted *but*
 " *two Orders* of Church Officers to be
 " of divine Appointment, *viz.* *Bishops*
 " and *Deacons* ; a *Presbyter* and
 " *Bishop*, according to them, being *but*
 " *two Names* for the *same Office.*"
 By this Account 'tis plain Mr. N. would
 have it believed, that *Bishop* and *Priest*
 were, in the Opinion of the first *Reformers*, synonymous Terms, signifying
 not only the *same Order*, but the *same Office* too ; being, as he says, *but two Names* of the *same Office*. His mate-
 rial Proof is the publick *Ordinal* ; and
 to be sure, if any where, the *Reformers*
 speak *distinctly*, when they are design-
 edly treating upon this Subject, and ap-
 pointing the very *Forms* of *Ordination*
 and *Consecration*. Here then we join
 Issue

Issue, and both appeal to the same *Or-dinal*, as a *decisive Proof*.

Mr. N's Assertion Page 82, is in these Words. "The first Reformers believed BUT TWO Orders of Church-Men in *Holy Scripture*, viz. BISHOPS and DEACONS." These very same first Reformers, in the very same *Ordinal*, he refers to, make the following express Declaration.

Preface to K.
Edward's Or-
dinal.

*It is evident unto all Men, diligent-
ly readyng *Holy Scripture* and auncient
Autours, that from th' Apostles
Tyme there have been THESE ORDERS
of Ministers in Christe's Churche, Bi-
SHOPPES PRIESTES and DEACONS.*

Without stopping for one Reflection, let us go on to his next Assertion, which runs thus ;

"The *Form* of Ordaining a *Priest*
" and a *Bishop* is the same."

Here we have Recourse to the same *Ordinal*, and find therein two *Forms*, one for the *Priest*, and the other for the *Bishop*, as distinct from each other as the *Forms* of a *Deacon* and a *Priest*. The *Bishop* is consecrated by an *Arch-bishop* and *Bishops*; the *Priest* ordain'd by a *Bishop* and *Presbyters*. The Title of the one *Form* is *The Form of ordain-ing of Priests*; the Title of the other is *The Form of Consecration of an Arch-bishop*,

bishop, or Bishop. Perhaps Mr. N. means that the very Form of Ordination and Consecration, those *individual Words*, by which they are ordain'd and consecrated, are the *same*. But neither is this the Case. The *Form* for the *Priest* is as follows. *When this Prayer is done, the Bishop with the Priests present, shall lay their Hands severally upon the Head of every one that receiveth Orders, the Receivers humbly kneeling upon their Knees, and the Bishop saying,*

“ Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose Sins
 “ thou dost forgive they are forgiven :
 “ And whose Sins thou dost retain they
 “ are retained ; and be thou a faithful
 “ Dispenser of the Word of God, and
 “ of his holy Sacrament. In the Name
 “ of the Father, and of the Son, and
 “ of the Holy Ghost.” *The Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in his Hand, saying,* “ Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God,
 “ and to minister the holy Sacraments
 “ in this Congregation where thou shalt
 “ be so appointed.”

The Form of consecrating an Archbishop or Bishop is this. *Then the ARCHBISHOP and BISHOPS present shall lay their Hands upon the Head of the elected Bishop, the Archbishop saying,* “ Take the Holy Ghost, and remember

" member that thou stir up the Grace
 " of God which is in thee, by Imposi-
 " tion of Hands ; for God hath not
 " given us the Spirit of Fear, but of
 " Power and Love, and Sobernes."

*Then the Archbishop shall deliver him
 the Bible, saying,* " Give Heed unto
 " Reading, Exhortation and Doctrine ;
 " think upon these Things contain'd in
 " this Book ; be diligent in them, that
 " the Increase coming thereby may be
 " manifest unto all Men. Take Heed
 " unto thy self, and unto teaching, and
 " be diligent in doing them ; for by
 " doing this thou shalt save thy self,
 " and those that hear thee. Be to the
 " Flock of Christ a Shepherd, not a
 " Wolf : Feed them, devour them not :
 " Hold up the weak, heal the Sick,
 " bring together the Broken, bring a-
 " gain the Out-cast, seek the Lost ; be
 " so merciful that ye be not too remiss ;
 " so minister DISCIPLINE that you for-
 " get not Mercy ; that when the chief
 " Shepherd shall come you may re-
 " ceive the immarcescible Crown of
 " Glory, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord.
 " Amen.

These are the Forms of ordaining a
Bishop and a *Priest*, which are called
 the *same*. The Weight of thus Mis-
 representing a publick Ordinal falls
 wholly

wholly upon Mr. N. His Friends are of a different Opinion : The *Objections* of the Puritans to these Forms of Ordinations are as follow. Under the Article of *Defects* in the publick Service alledged by them, this is one Particular.

“ 4. The *Priest* receiveth in his ^{A Short Table}
 “ *Ordination no Authority* to govern ^{of sundry Ex-}
 “ the Flock, and exercise the *Disci-*_{p. 99.}
 “ *pline* of Christ, but *only* to preach
 “ the Word, and administer the Sa-
 “ craments.” Under another Article,
 which bears the severe Title *manifest Untruths*, this stands as the first Particular.

“ 1. When it is said, that it is
 “ evident unto all Men, diligently
 “ reading the Holy Scriptures and an-
 “ cient Writers, that from the Apostles
 “ Times there have been these Orders
 “ of Ministers in Christ’s Church, *viz.* ^{ibid.}

“ Bishops, Priests and Deacons.” Under another Title call’d Popish Errors and Superstitions, the 2d Particular runs thus : “ That Deacons, Priests, Bi-^{Ibid. p. 110.}
 “ shops, and Archbishops, are made
 “ several Orders and Degrees of Mi-
 “ nority.”

Nothing, sure, but the Impossibility of supporting his Scheme, and proving the Parity of Presbyters and Bishops any other Way, could have put Mr. N. upon this Method of attempting it.

He

He had indeed undertaken a difficult Task, and must therefore have great Allowances in the Execution of it. The *Sense and Practice* of the whole *Christian Church* for fifteen Hundred Years, in a *Form of Church Government*, so early, so universally, so constantly received, were great Obstacles. No Instances of Presbyters executing the *distinguishing Offices* of a Bishop, no Example of any Man's being a Bishop one Day, and reduced to a mere Presbyter the next, as must have been the Case, had a Bishop, as is sometimes alledged, been no more than a *Chairman*, a *Moderator*, or *temporary President* of a Presbtery. No Instances of many Bishops in Places where there were many Priests ; on the contrary, we always find one particular Person mention'd as the Bishop, and sole Bishop of one particular City ; even where there were many Presbyters. This being the Case, and the *promiscuous Use of Names*, not sufficient to overcome so many Arguments, or shew the *Identity of Order and Office* between a Bishop and Priest, any more than an *Apostle's* calling himself a *Deacon* will prove the Apostolate and Deaconship to be one Order ; other Methods were to be try'd, and the very *Form* of consecrating a *Bishop*, who

who had before been ordained a Priest, be employ'd to prove there was, in the Opinion of the *Compilers* of that Form, no such Order as Bishops in the Church, all meer Presbyters and nothing more ; not only the Order but the very *Office* the same.

Since Mr. N. has thought fit to introduce the Reformers as Patrons of his Notion of Parity, it may not be improper to lay before the Reader Bishop Burnet's Account of the *Authors of Hist. Refor.*
that Opinion. " In the ancient Church ^{Vol. I. p. 366.}"

" they knew none of these Subtilties
" which were found out in the latter
" Ages. 'Twas then thought enough
" that a *Bishop* was to be *dedicated* to
" his Function by a new Imposition of
" Hands, and that *several Offices* could
" not be perform'd without *Bishops* ;
" such as Ordination, Confirmation,
" &c. But they did not refine in these
" Matters, so much as to enquire whe-
" ther Bishops and Priests differ'd in
" Order and Office, or only in Degree.
" But after the *Schoolmen* fell to exa-
" mine Matters of Divinity with logical
" and unintelligible Niceties ; and the
" *Canonists* began to comment upon the
" Rules of the ancient Church, *they*
" *studied* to make *Bishops* and *Priests*
" seem very near one another ; so that

" the Difference was but small. They
" did it with different Designs. The
" School-men having set up the grand
" Mystery of *Transubstantiation*, were
" to exalt the *Priestly Office* as much as
" was possible ; for the turning the *Host*
" into *God* was so great an *Action*, that
" they reckon'd there could be no Of-
" fice higher than that which qualified
" a Man to so mighty a Performance :
" Therefore, as they changed the Form
" of Ordination from what it was an-
" ciently believed to consist in, to a de-
" livering of the sacred Vessels, and
" held that a Priest had his Orders by
" that Rite, and not by the *Imposi-*
" *tion of Hands* ; so they raised their
" Order or Office so high as to make it
" equal with the Order of a Bishop ;
" but as they design'd to extol the Or-
" der of *Priesthood*, so the *Canonists*
" had as great Mind to depress the
" *Episcopal Order*. They generally
" wrote for Preferment, and the Way
" to it was to exalt the *Papacy*. No-
" thing could do that so effectually as
" to bring down the Power of *Bishops*.
" This only could justify the *Exemp-*
" *tions* of the *Monks* and *Fryars*, the
" Pope's setting up *Legantine Courts*,
" and receiving at first *Appeals*, and
" then *Original Causes* before them,
" together.

“ together with many other Encroachments on their Jurisdiction ; all which were unlawful, if the *Bishops* had, by Divine Right, *Jurisdiction* in their Dioceſes ; therefore it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apostolick See, than by a Commission from Christ or his Apostles ; so that they look'd on the declaring *Episcopal Authority* to be of *Divine Right*, as a Blow that would be fatal to the *Court of Rome* ; and therefore they did after this, at *Trent*, use all possible Endeavours to hinder any such Decision. It having been then the common Stile of that Age to reckon Bishops and Priests as the same Office, it is no Wonder if at this Time the Clergy of this Church, the greatest Part of them being still Leaven'd with the old Superſtitioп, and the rest of them not having Time enough to examine lesser Matters, retained still the former Phrases in this Particular. On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little *they* have consider'd things, who are so far carry'd with their *Zeal against* the established Government of this Church, as to make

“ much Use of some Passages of the
 “ Schoolmen and Canonists that deny
 “ them to be distinct Offices ; for these
 “ are the very *Dregs* of *Popery*, the
 “ one raising the *Priest* higher for the
 “ Sake of *Transubstantiation*, the other
 “ pulling down the *Bishops* lower for
 “ the Sake of the *Pope's Supremacy* ;
 “ and by such Means bringing them
 “ almost to an Equality. So partial
 “ are some Men to their particular
 “ Conceits, that they make Use of the
 “ most mischievous Topicks when they
 “ can serve their Turn, not considering
 “ how much further these Arguments
 “ will run, if they ever admit them.”

Mr. N. imputes these Sentiments of
 some in *the Reign of King Henry VIII.*
 to the *Reformers* under K. *Edward VI.*
 tho' in the Preface to their *Ordinal*,
 they *expressly* declare the *contrary*. A
 particular Infelicity seems to attend the
 History of the Puritans upon this Point,
 the *several Orders of Ministers* ; the
 Author tells us often, that the Puritans
 believed *two Orders of Ministers*,
 “ They acknowledged, says he, but *two*
 “ Orders of *Clergy* of Divine Institu-
 “ tion, viz. *Bishops* or *Priests*, and
 “ *Deacons* ;” and yet nothing is more
 plain from the whole Strain of Puritan
 Books, than that they did not think a
Deacon

Deacon to be a Clergy Man, nor would allow him to act as a Minister. Their Admonition to the Parliament is so authentick a Declaration, that we need quote nothing else. "The Deaconship,
 " say they, *must not be confounded with*¹ Admonit.
 " the Ministry." — And so warm were they in this Matter, that they desir'd the Parliament "to injoin DEACONS
 " not to meddle in *Ministers Matters*; *Ibid. p. 7.*
 " and if they do, to see them sharply
 " punished." By this odd Account of Mr. N's it plainly appears, the Puritans believed two Orders of *Clergymen* ; ONE of which in *their Opinion* was no Order at all. *id. l. 201.*

Thus has Mr. N. succeeded with the Doctrine and Government of the Church; let us now attend him in considering the *Worship* thereof, which, with a few proper Alterations, is another Part of K. Edward's Reformation that Queen Elizabeth established. Here again she is so unhappy as to incur this Gentleman's Displeasure. Faultless Performances are not to be expected: The most labour'd publick Form of Prayer will scarce be above all Exception from every different Party. Some Prayers of a private Composition have been very affectionate and proper; but others, greatly indecent, and such as no Con-

gregation could join in, without consenting to things little short of Blasphemy. Should any Man have so good an Opinion of himself, as to imagine that his own private, or extemporary Performances will be perfect; such an Instance of his Vanity will be no great Argument in favour of his Compositions. A serious and peaceable Mind will not be offended at those Failings which are unavoidable in the present State of things. 'Twas *Calvin's* Advice to the Heads of the *English* Reformation

Calvin Epist. in King Edward's Days, " As to ad Protector. " a Form of Prayer, says he, and Eccllesiastical Rites, I highly approve of

Epist 81. " it, that there be a certain Form from which the Ministers be not allow'd to vary or depart in the Discharge of their Office. — That some Provision may be made to help the Simplicity and Unskilfulness of some. And that the Consent and Harmony of the Churches one with another may appear. And lastly, that the desultory Humour and Levity of such as

Quod ad formam precum & rituum Ecclesiasticorum, valde probò ut certa illa extet, a qua Pastoribus discedere in functione sua non licet, tam ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati & imperitiae, quam ut certius ita constet omnium inter se Ecclesiarum Consensus; postremo etiam ut obviem eatur desultoriae quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant.

" affect

" affect Innovations may be prevented. The Puritans did not pretend to object, that the publick Prayers were framed in an unknown Language, or not directed to the proper Object, or not offered thro' the true Mediator, being conceived in the *English Tongue*, and addressed not to the Virgin *Mary*, to Saints or Angels, but to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and offered in the *Name* of our Blessed Saviour, the *only Mediator* and *Advocate*: Nor did they complain, that the *Matter* of them was such as did not become *sinful Creatures* to offer their great Creator. An humble *Confession* of their *Sins*, with an earnest *Deprecation* of God's *Wrath* — Promises of future *Obedience*, with warm *Requests* for *divine Assistance* to fulfil those Promises — *Praises* and *Thanksgivings* for *Mercies* spiritual and temporal already received, with suitable *Petitions* for future *Favours*, and proper *Prayers* for all *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Men*. These, with *Psalms* and *Hymns*, taken out of *Scripture*, or agreeable thereto, the Lessons of the *Old* and *New* Testament (some few of the *Apocrypha* being read upon Week Days only) compose the Service of the Church of

England. Nor could they or Mr. N. for them, be able to name any Church or Congregation, where the Holy Scriptures make so great a Part of the Service as they do in the Church of *England*. Let him examine, for Instance, the Service for a *Sunday Morning*, the *Psalms*, the *Chapters*, the *Commandments*, and other Parts of *Scripture* then read, will soon convince him of the Truth of this Assertion. As to the *Matter* of the publick Prayers, there was but one thing alledged to be directly sinful; but this shews such a charitable Spirit, and reflects so much Honour upon the Liturgy, that it is to be hoped it will always continue a Part of it. The *Prayers objected to by the Puritans* are these. " That it may
 " please God to have Mercy upon *all*
 " Men; That it may please God to
 " preserve *all* that Travel by Land or
 " by Water, *all* Women labouring
 " with Child, *all* sick Persons and
 " young Children, and to shew Pity
 " upon *all* Prisoners and Captives.

To which humane and Christian Petition the following Objection was made.

Dial. between a Soldier and an Eng. Chaplain. Catal. sub fin. Art. 4. Writt. 1556. inscribed to be saved, without Exception; and that all travelling by Sea and by Land may

be preserved, *Turks and Traitors not Coverdale.*
 excepted, &c. The same Objection is ^{Turner, Whit-}
 made in the famous *Admonition*, which ^{tingham, Sam-}
 contained the Opinion of them all— ^{pson, Hum-}
^{phrey, Leaver,}
^{Crowley, and}
^{" In all their Order of Service (say others, that}
^{they) there is no Edification—THEY labour'd to}
^{" PRAY THAT ALL MEN MAY BE SAVED. Weeds of Po-}
 Notwithstanding this Objection, it will, ^{perly.}
^{2 Admonit.}
 upon Examination, appear, that they
 did not prove one sinful Petition in-
 serted, nor any necessary Request omit-
 ted, in the publick *Liturgy*, which is
 so well adapted to the Apostle's Injun-
 ction, by *Prayer and Supplication, with*
Thanksgiving, to make known our Re-
quests unto God: But Mr. N. tells us,
 " it would have obviated many Objecti-
 ons, if the Committee had thrown ^{N's Hist.}
 aside the *Mass-book*, and composed ^{p. 54.}
 an uniform Service, in the Language
 " of Scripture." This was an Objecti-
 on frequently made by the Puritans,
 with great Variety of very severe and
 very coarse Expressions. Thus, in their
 first Admonition to the Parliament:
 " Remove (say they, in great Warmth)
 " Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, and
 " that prescript Order of Service made ^{1 Admon.}
 " out of the *Mass-Book.*" In their se- ^{p. 5.}
 cond Admonition to the Parliament,
 they express themselves after this Man-
 ner:

ner : " We must needs say as followeth,
 " That this Book is an imperfect Book,
 " culled and pick'd out of that *Popish*
 2 Admon. A View of Popish Abus-
 ses, &c. p. 2. " *Dunghill, the Portuise and Mass-*
Book, full of all Abominations."

Another of them is pleased to deliver his Opinion in the following Words :
 " The whole Form of the Church Service is borrow'd from the Papists,
 Dial. &c. Ca-
 tal. Art. 2. " pieced and patch'd, without Reason
 " or Order of Edification." Their famous Leader, Mr. *Cartwright*, likewise declares his, and his Brethren's Displeasure upon this Head. " Before I come

Cartwright's Reply to Dr. W. p. 131. " to speak of Prayers (*says he*) I will treat of the Faults that are committed almost throughout the whole Liturgy and Service of the Church of *England*, whereof one is that which is often objected by the Authors of the Admonition, That the Form of it is taken from the Church of *Antichrist*." This is a heavy Charge against those *pious Men* that compiled the *English Liturgy*: 'Tis but proper they be heard in their own Defence, whereby their great *Prudence* and *Charity* will appear: " Whereas (*say* they) in this our Time, the Minds of

Preface to the Com. Prayer concerning the Service of the Church and of Ceremonies. " Men are so divers, that *some* think it a great Matter of Conscience to depart

“ depart from a *Piece* of the *least* of
“ their Ceremonies, they be so *addicted*
“ to their old *Customs*; and again, on
“ the other Side, some be so *new fangled*,
“ that they would *innovate all things*,
“ and so despise the old, that nothing
“ can like them, but that is new:
“ ’Twas thought expedient not so much
“ to have Respect how to *please* and
“ satisfy *either* of these Parties, as
“ how to please God, and *profit them*
“ BOTH—So that here you have an Or-
“ der for Prayer, and for the reading of
“ the Holy Scriptures, much agreeable
“ to the Mind and Purpose of the old
“ Fathers, and a great deal more profita-
“ ble and commodious, than that which
“ of late was used. It is more profit-
“ able, because here are left out many
“ Things, whereof some are untrue,
“ some uncertain, some vain and super-
“ stitious; and nothing is ordained to be
“ read, but the very pure Word of God,
“ the Holy Scriptures, or that which is
“ agreeable to the same; and that in
“ such a Language and Order as is most
“ easy and plain for the Understanding
“ both of the Readers and Hearers.
“ It is also more commodious, both for
“ the Shortness thereof, and for the
“ Plainness of the Order, and for that
“ the Rules therof be few and easy.”

Nothing

Nothing can be more charitable than the further Declaration they make: " In these our Doings we condemn no other Nations; nor prescribe any thing but to our own People only; for we think it convenient, that every Country shou'd use such Ceremonies as they shall think best, to the setting forth of God's Honour and Glory, and to the reducing of the People to a most perfect and Godly Living, without Error or Superstition." The Reader will take Notice, that the Dispute with the Puritans was *not*, whether there should be one *uniform* Manner of Worship, or every Man left to use what Prayers he pleased extemporary or precomposed in his own Church. " They did not dispute the Lawfulness of set Forms of Prayer."

A Form of Prayer was then used in all the Churches, Geneva, Scotland, &c. Bishop Burnet gives the following Ac-

Burnet's Hist. Refor. p. 72. Vol. II. count of the Matter: " I do not find (says that learned Prelate) it was ever brought under Consideration, whether they should compose a Form of all the Parts of divine Worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary Heats of those who are to officiate, which some have called, since that Time, worshipping by the Spirit;

“ Spirit ; of *this Way* of serving God
“ they did not *then Dream* ; much less
“ that the appointing of Forms of
“ Prayer was an Encroachment on the
“ Kingly Office of Christ ; but thought,
“ whatever praying in the Spirit might
“ have been in the Apostles Time
“ (where yet every Man brought his
“ Psalms, which are a sort of Prayers,
“ as well as Praises, and these look
“ like some written Composures, as
“ St. Paul expresses it) that now to
“ pray with warm *Affection* and sincere
“ Devotion was *spiritual Worship* ; and
“ that where it was the *same thing*
“ that was to be daily asked of God,
“ the using the *same Expressions* was
“ the Sign of a *steady Devotion* that
“ was fixed on the thing pray'd for ;
“ whereas the Heat that new Words
“ raised, look'd rather like a Warmth
“ in the Fancy. Nor could it agree
“ with the *Principles* of a *Reformation*,
“ that was to *divest* the *Churchmen* of
“ that unlimited *Authority* which they
“ had formerly exercised over Mens
“ Consciences, to *leave them at Liberty* to make the People pray after
“ them, as they pleased ; this being
“ as great a *Resignation* of the Peo-
“ ple, when their *Devotion* depend-
“ ed on the sudden Heats of their
“ *Pastors*,

" *Pastors*, as the former *Superstition* had
" made of their *Faith* and *Conscience* to
" them. So it being resolved to bring
" the whole Worship of God under
" set Forms ; they set one general
" Rule to themselves (which they af-
" terwards declared) of changing no-
" thing for *Novelty Sake*, or meerly
" because it had been formerly used.
" They resolved to retain such Things
" as the primitive *Church* had practis-
" ed, cutting off such *Abuses* as the
" latter *Ages* had grafted on them,
" and to continue the Use of such other
" Things, which, tho' they had been
" brought in not so early, yet were of
" good Use to beget Devotion ; and
" were so much recommended to the
" People by the Practice of them, that
" the laying these aside would perhaps
" have alienated them from the other
" Changes they made ; and, therefore,
" they resolved to make no *Change*,
" without very good and weighty Rea-
" son. In which they consider'd the
" Practice of our *Saviour* ; who did
" not only comply with the Rites of
" Judaism himself, but even the *Pray-*
" *er* he gave to his Disciples was *fram-*
" *ed* according to their Forms ; and
" his two great *Institutions* of *Baptism*
" and the *Eucharist*, did consist of Rites
" that

" that had been *used* among the *Jews* ;
" and since he who was *delivering* a
" new Religion, and was *authorized*
" in the highest Manner that ever any
" was, did yet so far comply with *re-*
" *ceived Practices*, as from them to
" take those which he sanctified for the
" Use of his Church ; it seemed much
" fitter for those who had no such ex-
" traordinary Warrant to give them
" Authority in what they did, when
" they were reforming Abuses, to let
" the World see, they did it not from
" the *wanton Desire of Change*, or
" any *Affectation of Novelty*, and with
" those Resolutions they enter'd on
" their Work." A great deal of Noise
has been made with this Objection, that
some of the Prayers in the Liturgy
were taken out of the *Mass Book*.
The *Lawfulness of publick Forms* is
agreed on all Hands, and it can hardly
be supposed that *every Thing* employed
in the Popish Service was thereby ren-
der'd *unfit* for Christian Use. How ma-
ny impious Tricks did they play with
Water : Must we therefore never Bap-
tize with Water ? or because they with
many Fopperies consecrated *Bells*, must
we lose an useful Method of calling
People to Church by the Sound of
them ? because they used the *Apostles*
Creed,

Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and many Portions of Scripture mixt with odious Superstitions, is it unlawful for us to use the same, FREE from those Superstitions? Can any Man of Sense think it sinful to offer up the following Petitions in the *English Tongue*, only because a Popish Priest used a *Latin* Prayer to the same Purpose :
“ Lord
“ of all Power and Might, who art the
“ Author and Giver of all good Things,
“ graft in our Hearts the Love of thy
“ Name ; encrease in us true Religion ;
“ nourish us with all Goodnes, and
“ of thy great Mercy keep us in the
“ same, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord.”
Or this Prayer : “ O Lord, who hast
“ taught us, that all our Doings without
“ Charity are nothing worth, send
“ thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our
“ Hearts that most excellent Gift of
“ Charity, the very Bond of Peace and
“ of all Virtues, without which, who
“ soever liveth is counted dead before
“ thee. Grant this for thine only Son
“ Jesus Christ's Sake.” The true and
only Question for a peaceable Christian,
is not *who* has *used* a *Prayer*, but *what* the *Prayer* is? If this be suitable to his Condition, and every Way proper for him to offer ; it is not incumbent upon him to enquire further, nor shou'd he throw

throw it aside, tho' he knew that an *Enthusiast* or a *Drunkard*, or even an *Idolater*, or a *Murderer* had used the same Words. Those Parts of *Scripture* are not the worse, nor ought to be the less regarded, which *Blasphemers* or the *Devil* himself has quoted.

There is one Thing more that Mr. N. often mentions, and lays great Stress upon. "The Puritans (says he) did ^{N'e Hist.} ~~not~~ object to prescribed Forms of ^{b. 595.}
 " Prayer, provided a *Latitude* was in-
 " dulged the Minister to alter or vary
 " some Expressions; and so make Use
 " of a Prayer of his own Conception,
 " before and after Sermon." What!
 the *Popish*, *Lutheran* and *Calvinistic*
 Clergy to alter the publick Prayers as
 any of them thought proper! Each had
 the *same* Right, and each was intitled
 to the *same* Liberty. By this hopeful
 Scheme, when Ministers were forbid
 preaching against each other, they had
 a sure Way of continuing *Dissentions*,
 expressing their *Dislike*, and forming of
Parties by their Prayers. This had
 been an effectual Way to throw the
 Nation into great Confusion, and give
 the Papists such Advantage as would
 have enabled them to subvert the
Established Protestant Religion. The
 Church of *England* was too great a

Friend to Peace, Charity and true Piety, to run the Hazard of any such Contentions and Divisions in the publick Prayers. The Government too wise to change a good *Establishment* for such a Scene of *Discord* and *Confusion*; nor were they willing so far to subject the *People* to the Power of the *Clergy*, as to leave the Alteration of the *publick* Prayers to the entire Pleasure of every Parish Minister. This Project of Mr. N. for thus altering the Publick Prayers, seems the more extraordinary, since he tells us, " 'Twas impossible, with all the Assistances they could get from both Universities, to fill up the Parochial Vacancies [which were at most but 100] with Men of Learning and Character."

Again Pag. 172, " Archbishop Parker visited his Diocese this Summer, [1561] and found it in a Deplorable Condition; the major Part of the Beneficed Clergy being either Mechanicks or Mass-Priests in Disguise." Most of the inferior beneficed Clergy kept their Places; there were only one hundred Parochial Clergy displaced out of nine thousand four hundred Parochial Benefices; and was it either safe or prudent for the Sake of that Handful of Men, who came from Geneva,

N's Hist.
p. 162.

p. 156.

Ann. Dom.
1561.

never, to invest every Clergyman of the Kingdom with a Power of altering the Liturgy, when it must unavoidably happen, that those who might be *most conceited* of their Abilities to alter the publick Service, would be *least capable* of such a Work ; and in this Scheme every Man was compleat Judge what he would change, and what he would put in the Room of it ? As to making a *Prayer before or after Sermon*, it was a Practice very common at that Time, nor has Mr. N. been able to give *one* Instance of a Minister censured upon that Account ; but as to changing and altering the publick Service, it could not be expected. The Church Prayers were highly esteemed, as expressing all our Wants, and containing nothing sinful. 'Twas therefore thought the most *safe and quiet* Method to continue the general Use of them.

'Tis not the Design of these Papers to enter at large into these Controversies, or offer every Thing that has, or may be said, upon this Subject. The little suggested will satisfy the Reader, that the Objections made by the Puritans, against the *Doctrine, Government and Worship*, established by Queen *Elizabeth*, are very weak and frivolous ; and also shew that the *Establishment*

of the Protestant Religion in the Church of *England* was formed upon Catholic and comprehensive Principles, such as would include the greatest Number of *English Subjects*, and be the most likely Method to unite foreign Protestants.

'Tis a Confirmation of this, that very considerable Numbers both of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* have become Members of the Church of *England*, notwithstanding their *Irreconcileableness* to the proper Scheme of each other. But there is an Objection made by the Puritans to the *Habits*, and a few Ceremonies of the same *indifferent* Nature, retained by the Wisdom of the Nation that must be mentioned, not for the Weight this Objection has, but because 'twas made the Occasion of so much *Debate, Contention and Mischief*. Their Sentiments upon this Head Mr. N. has given, Pag. 595. "Nor had they an *Aversion* to such *decent* and *distingueſt* *Habits* for the *Clergy*, as were not derived from *Popery*." The Dispute therefore was, not about the Distinction of Drefs, but what that distinguishing Drefs should be. Here again we shall find the *Government* upon the *more charitable* Side of the Question. The Queen is *Censured* where she deserves Praise, for thinking that the Doctrines of

of the Church *might* be made *too narrow*, and thereby many valuable Men kept out of it; and that if all the ancient Ceremonies had been *entirely laid aside*, great Numbers would have been driven out of her Communion. And therefore, for the Sake of *many* Thousands, 'twas agreed that a few *innocent* and *ancient* Usages should be retain'd, such as were practised *long before* Popery had extended its tyrannical Dominion over the Christian Church. And as *some distinguishing Habit* was thought expedient, none seem'd so proper as That the *People* had been *accustom'd* to, and were already furnished with. The *Clergy* were then so *poor*, that they could scarce buy themselves decent Clothes. "But to this (says Mr. N.)^{P. 56.}
 "could not the Parish provide a
 "Gown, or some other decent Ap-
 "parel?" Not so easily as he imagines. Popish Church Wardens and Parishioners, as the Generality of the Nation then were, would not be very ready to purchase new Habits when they had old ones by them. As Mr. N. has, upon this Occasion, quoted Bishop Burnet *imperfectly*, and then thought fit to add, "upon THESE slender Reasons.^{P. 56.} the
 "Garments were continued." 'Tis but Justice to the Bishop, to transcribe the

whole Passage. The slenderer these Reasons are, the less necessary it was to suppress any Part of them.

Burnet's Hist.

Vol. II. p. 75.

" It was argued, that as *White* was
 " anciently the Colour of the Priests
 " Garments, in the *Mosaical Dispensation*,
 " so it was used in the African
 " Churches in the fourth Century : "
 (This Mr. N. thought proper to omit)
 " And it was thought a natural Expression
 " of the Purity and Decency
 " that became Priests ; besides, the
 " Clergy were then generally extream
 " poor, so that they could scarce afford
 " themselves decent Clothes ; [the
 " People also running from the other
 " Extream of submitting too much to
 " the Clergy, were now as much inclined
 " to despise them, and to make
 " light of the Holy Function ; so that
 " if they should officiate in their own
 " mean Garments, it might make the
 " Divine Offices grow also into Contempt.] And therefore it was resolved to continue the Use of them ; and it was said, that their being blessed and used superstitiously, gave as strong an Argument against the Use of Churches and Bells ; but that St. Paul had said, that every Creature of God was good, and even the Meat of a Sacrifice offer'd to an *Idol*, than which

" which there could be no greater
 " Abuse, might lawfully be eaten ;
 " therefore they saw no Necessity be-
 " cause of a former Abuse to throw
 " away Habits, that had so much De-
 " cency in them, and had been former-
 " ly in Use]." All that is enclosed
 Mr. N. has left out, without hinting
 at the Omission.

But as so great a Part of the Puritanical Dispute was about the Habits, let us examine a little farther into that Matter. Mr. N. asserts, " that Queen Elizabeth's Common-Prayer Book was hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament, in the fifth Year of his Reign. For whereas in that Liturgy, all the Garments were laid aside but the Surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward's first Book, wherein Copes and other Garments were order'd to be used." The Truth of the Case is this ; the Change of Religion was so hazardous, that great Caution was necessary, and as few Persons as possible to be offended. But tho' the Habits appointed in the 2d Year of Edward VI. were prescribed in the Act of Uniformity ; yet a Clause was inserted to impower the Queen, if it should appear practicable,

to make further Alterations, as follows.

“ Be it enacted, that such Ornaments of
“ the Church, and the Ministers there-
“ of, shall be retain’d and be in Use, as
“ it was in this Church of *England* by
“ Authority of Parliament, in the 2d
“ Year of the Reign of K. *Edward VI.*
“ until other Orders shall be there-
“ in taken by the Authority of the
“ Queen’s Majesty, with the Advice of
“ her Commissioners, appointed and au-
“ thorized under the great Seal of Eng-
“ land for Causes Ecclesiastical, or of
“ the Metropolitan.” In Consequence
of this Power the Queen did, in the
very first Year of her Reign, appoint
that very Form of Habit used in the
FIFTH of King *Edward*, which Mr. N.
complains was laid aside by the Act of
Uniformity. It had been more gene-
rous and impartial to have mentioned
this Instance of the Queen’s Conde-
scension, than to asperse her Reformation,
as being hardly equal to King
Edward’s, upon this Account of the
Habits, when she herself, with great
Indulgence to the Puritans, set aside
the Habits of the second, and appointed
those of the fifth Year. The Queen’s
Injunction, which upon many Accounts
deserves great Regard, is as follows.

“ Inj.

" Inj. 30. Item. her Majesty being de- Of Apparel
" sirous to have the Prelacy and Clergy of Ministers.
" of this Realm to be had, as well in out-
" ward Reverence as otherwise regard-
" ed, for the Worthiness of their Mini-
" steries ; and thinking it necessary to
" have them known to the People, in all
" Places and Assemblies, both in the
" Church and without, and thereby to
" receive the Honour and Estimation due
" to the special Messengers and Ministers
" of Almighty God ; Willeth and Com-
" mandeth, that all Archbishops and Bi-
" shops, and all other that be called or
" admitted to Preaching or Ministry of
" the Sacraments, or that be admitted
" into Vocation Ecclesiastical, or into any
" Society of Learning in either of the
" Universities or elsewhere, shall use and
" wear such seemly Habits, Garments,
" and such square Caps, as were most
" commonly and orderly received in the
" latter Year of the Reign of King
" Edward VI. not thereby meaning to
" attribute any Holiness or special Wor-
" thiness to the said Garments ; but
" as St. Paul writeth, Omnia decen-
" ter & secundum ordinem fiant. 1 Cor.
" 14. cap." Mr. N. seems equally un-
" happy, in quoting Injunctions and Or-
" dinals. Tho' he had the foregoing In-
" junction before him, he gives the fol-
" lowing

lowing Account of it ; how unfairly to the good Queen, the Reader will judge, by comparing them together.

"Art. 30. All Archbishops and Bishops, and all that preach or administer the Sacraments, or that shall be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Vocation, or into either of the Universities, shall wear such Garments and square Caps, as were worn in the Reign [leaving out those important Words THE LATTER YEAR] of King Edward VI." It plainly appears, that the Habits Queen Elizabeth enjoin'd were not so properly Popish as Protestant Habits ; worn in King Edward's Time, in the last Year of his Reign. These Habits were a Scholar's Gown, a square Cap, a Tippet or Scarf (to those who were entitled to wear one) and in the Church a white Surplice. It should further be consider'd, whether these Habits were not effectually distinguish'd from the Popish Garments ; 'tis certain they were not consecrated with Prayer, crossing and sprinkling with holy Water, as the Popish Vestments were. 'Twas only the Surplice, that could in any Sense be call'd Popish, the other being *academical* ; and even this had not the *Crucifix* and *Crosses* which were *embroidered*

ed on the *Popish Garments*. Other Persons, Judges, Magistrates, publick Officers, were distinguish'd by their Habits, as well as the Clergy ; it was, therefore, intended not so much a religious, as a decent and civil Distinction, and so it was explain'd by proper Authority, even the Queen herself. The *Cap*, the *Scholar's Gown* and *Tippet*, as was observed, are meerly an *Academical Dress*. No Objection can lie against these from Persons who allow, as the Puritans did, a Distinction of Habit, or who think a *Government* has Power to make *sumptuary Laws*, and, if they see Cause, prescribe a certain Dress to the *whole Society*, or any particular Members of it. The *Surplice*, if it is not allow'd to be an *University-Dress* (for that also was worn there) yet is rather an *Aaronical* than Popish Garment. And it was in that View *Bishop Hooper* objected to it. He declined his Consecration. Mr. N. himself tells us pag. 68. for two Reasons,
" First, because of the Form of the
" Oath, &c. Secondly, by reason of the
" *Aaronical Habits*.

The *Conduct* of the *Puritans* seems very extraordinary upon this Occasion. These Gentlemen were for having the Clergy distinguish'd from the *Layity* by their

their Dress, and yet strongly object and inflame *the Protestant Populace thro' the Nation* against the *only Habit* that could be attended with any *Advantage*. Thousands of poor ignorant People, who had been accustom'd to Divine Offices, where such a Dress was used, would not hear or regard a Man in another Habit. Their Ignorance and Weakness call'd for the charitable Condescension of their more knowing Superiors. These Habits, and the few Ceremonies retain'd, were agreeable to the *Lutheran Protestants*, to many moderate Calvinists, and to those who, approving King *Edward's Reformation*, follow'd it in their Banishment. They were also of great Service, if not absolute Necessity, to keep many in a Protestant Church, who had been perverted in Queen *Mary's Time*. By these moderate and prudent Measures the Papists were continued in the Church for several Years, and of Course great Numbers brought off from their false Opinions and Idolatrous Worship. It should be remember'd also, tho' Mr. N. is pleased to suppress it, that the Queen publish'd an authentick Declaration, *that no Holiness or special Worthiness was imputed to the prescribed Habits*. They were used only to distinguish the Clergy, as many

many other Orders of Men in the Kingdom were distinguish'd, from the Layity, appointed as Things meerly indifferent for Decency and Order; as a very successful Means to keep many weak Brethren in a Protestant Church, and prevent their falling a Prey to Popish Priests. " If the People (as Mr. N.^{p. 56.})
" says) had such a superstitious Opinion of them, as to think they gave
" an Efficacy to their Prayers, and
" that Divine Service said without
" this Apparel was insignificant." 'Tis certain they would have left every Church, where they did not find that Habit, without which the Prayers had no Efficacy, and Divine Service was insignificant. So that the abolishing these Habits, as the Puritans proposed, must have drove vast Numbers from a Protestant Church, and engaged them in Measures to overturn it. But on the contrary, the wise Condescension of the Government in a few indifferent Things, kept all the Lutheran Protestants, and very many Thousands of poor deluded Papists, in a Church where they might be convinced of their Errors. The greater and more dangerous those Errors were, the greater and more charitable was that Compassion which condescended to their Weakness in a few
in-

indifferent Things, as a necessary Means to gain their Attention. This was agreeable to the Conduct of the great Author of our Faith and his Apostles, who instructed Men as they were able to bear it ; and took Care to give no *Offence to Jews or Gentiles, nor to the Church of God.* The Puritanical Rigour and Severity, by driving them from the Church, would in all Probability have thrown them upon the Queen of Scots, or into some Scheme equally fatal to the Reformation. It cannot be denied, that the People might have the *same Instruction* from those that wore a *Surplice*, as from him that wore a *Cloak*, with this Difference, that they were prejudiced in Favour of the one, and had a Dislike to the other. Who then was likely to be best heard ? A Man may as well throw aside his Shirt, or his Shoes, because a Popish Priest wore such, as, lay aside an outward Garment, for no other Reason.

But notwithstanding the appointing the Surplice was not only the injoining an indifferent Matter ; but, at that Juncture very convenient, so agreeable to the general Sense of the Nation, and the laying it aside so likely to be attended with very ill Consequences; yet we shall see presently, whatever Mr. N. has

has said, that great *Indulgence, Lenity, and Tenderness*, were used towards those who could not persuade themselves to wear it.

When a little Notice has been taken of the *Discipline* of the Church, all the Objections to the Establishment, made by the Puritans, have been consider'd. That the Discipline is not *so perfect* as good Men wish it, and as the *Bishops* frequently and earnestly endeavoured to render it, cannot be denied: But yet, let *Churchwardens* make honest *Presentments*, and *Parishes*, as they ought to do, support their Officers in the Prosecution of them, the Complaints of want of Discipline will, in a great Measure, be removed. As to the *Geneva Model*, the World has had pretty long *Experience* of it, without discovering any *Extraordinary Effects* to recommend it. Wick-edness prevails too much amongst Men of *all* Denominations, and under *every* Form of Church Discipline. But had those vehement Endeavours, which were used to introduce the *Geneva Plan*, been employed to procure a Form more suitable to the Constitution, and more perfect than what we now have, great Service might have been done to Practical Religion. And yet, whatever

Zeal

Zeal was shewn for this Platform, whatever Encomiums and fine Titles given to this *Holy Discipline*, this *Divine Government*, as it is call'd, of Ruling Elders, there are some *Circumstances* that attend it, far enough from making it appear very amiable. One is, that a Man knows not *what Laws* or *Canons*, what established Rules, or settled Orders, he is to be try'd by. These Lay Elders are to judge, as they say, according to the Word of God, their *own Sense* of it, they always mean. What this Sense may be, or how it may vary, who can answer? By this means, a few Tradesmen in Cities, or Farmers in Country Parishes, may brand a Man as a *Sinner*, or a *Heretick*, being Judges of *Opinions* as well as *Actions*, according to their own arbitrary and sovereign Determination. 'Tis but calling themselves a *holy Synod*, a *sacred Consistory*, and then they may judge as they please. Mr. N. complains, that "it
 " lyes in the Breast of the *Judges* to
 " declare what *Canons* are contrary to
 " the *Laws* or *Rights* of the *Crown*,
 " which is more for the King's Prerogative, than to make a Collection of
 " Ecclesiastical *Laws*, which should be
 " fix'd and immovable." This Remark of his is founded upon a Clause in

an Act of Parliament, 25 of Hen. VIII.
 cap. 19. enacting, " That such Canons or Constitutions, not contrary to the Laws, Statutes and Customs of the Realm, or to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal, as were then received and used, shall still continue to be so." It is not so difficult as Mr. N. imagines, to determine, what Canons are contrary to the Laws of the Land, or the King's Prerogative ; but if this be an Objection, 'tis much stronger against the Eldership, that no Body knows what Laws or Canons they judge by. Here we see some Certainty in the Church. The publick Registers will shew upon what Canons there have been *Processes*. It may be determined what Canons were in Use, and what repugnant to the Laws or the Prerogative ; but where are the fixt and immovable Canons or Constitution of Ruling Elders ? Upon what known Laws, what fixt and stated Rules is the Character and Reputation of Mankind, when trusted in such Hands, to depend ? 'Tis the very Notion of *Arbitrary Power* not to govern by certain, fixt and known Rules, but to act and determine at Pleasure ; such Power was vested in and exercised by the Geneva Eldership. *In the Consistory*

Holy Discip. *sistory the most Voices are to be yielded.*
 Sub. Tit. of
 Confistories. *unto.* The only Certainty, a Person accused could have, was, that his Case would be determined by the *Majority* of Ruling Elders present in the Con-sistory ; but upon what Laws or Maxims they would proceed, he was entirely ignorant. The Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline publish'd 1593, has proved this from the Pa-trons of that Form, and their Endeavours to abolish all the received Ec-clesiastical Laws and Canons, without Vid. Admon. substituting any other in their Room, is a farther Confirmation of it.

N's History
p. 414.

And what is this, but to erect a *high Commission* in every Parish, not 44 whom Mr. N. complains of, but half a Dozen sovereign Judges are to proceed against a Party accused by one of them-selves by any Ways and Means they can invent, and upon any Maxims of their own which they are pleased to call Scripture. This leads us to another disagreeable Circumstance in this Dis-cipline, the Ruling Elders are to *judge* and censure *one another*. This gives great Opportunity of favouring each other, and lays them under a Tempta-tion to do so, as each may expect the same Indulgence from his Brethren in the like Circumstances ; nor does it at all

all recommend this Holy Discipline, that the same Person is, in other Cases, both *Accuser* and *Judge*. The Ruling Elders are to search and find out Hereticks, or other Offenders, in the Congregation ; and when they have accused them to the Body of Elders, they themselves are to sit in Judgment upon them. "The Elders *watch* over the Director of Life and Behaviour of every Man ; Church Go-
vernment and to *them* belongs the Decision of Def. of the all such Matters as do rise in the Admon.
Church either touching corrupt Manners or perverse Doctrine." Tis cer-
tainly more agreeable to the Maxims of good Sense, as well as the English Constitution, for the *Church Wardens*, who may be consider'd as *Lay-Elders* by such as are fond of the Name, to present Offences, as a grand Jury finds Bills, and leave the Judgment to the Ordinary, or even his *Chancellor*, who cannot be *more* a Lay-Man than *Lay Elders* are. This must be own'd a more unexceptionable Way of proceeding, for *one* Man to *accuse*, and *another* to *judge*, by known and *stated* Rules, than for the same Man to be *Accuser*, *Judge* and *Jury*. In short, to have the whole Power of complaining, judging and determining, according to his own Will and Pleasure ; "the Justice of the ^{Fuller Lib. IX.} Land" ^{b. 184.}

“ Land detesteth that the Judge should
 “ himself be an Accuser; for by Law
 “ no Man may be Accuser and Witness,
 “ *Inditer & Furor*, therefore much less
 “ *Judge and Accuser*.” This is their
 own Reasoning against the high Com-
 mission; and yet they were desirous to
 have *such a Power* lodged in their own
Consistories. The Reader will observe
 all along, that tho' they exclaim'd
 against the *Powers* the *Law* had *vested*
 in other Hands, yet they design'd to
 get *similar Powers* into *their own*.
 We have another Instance of this in the
 Oath *ex officio*. This was not only used
 in many of the *English* Courts, but
 was also practised at *Geneva* as well as
 in *England*, and therefore should not
 be objected to the established Church,
 as a Practice peculiar to that, since it
 was common to *both* Parties, and as was
 argued at that Time, “ tho' not re-

L. Whitgift
Appen. p. 137. “ quired by Act of Parliament, yet
 had undoubted Grounds in the Law
 Ecclesiastical, according to which,
 the Proceeding in all the Ecclesiasti-
 cal Courts of this Realm have been
 used Time out of Mind.” The most

Cal. Epist. 71. Reverend Mr. *Calvin*, as he is called
Farelo. by the Puritans, made Use of the same
Fuller lib. IX. *Oath ex officio* in his Consistory at *Ge-*
p. 185-6. *neva*. The *Puritans* themselves could
 not

not by Law administer an Oath, but they came *as near* it as possible, by subjecting every Member of the Church to the *solemn Scrutiny* and Examination of the Consistory, where he was obliged, *as often as required*, to give an Account of his *private Opinions*, and accuse himself. The Law enacted for this Purpose is as follows : " And that every Member of the Congregation do not refuse to render a Declaration of their *Faith*, before the Ministers and Elders, *whencever* they shall by them be thereunto required." Discipline Reform'd, Article 52.

However, this Oath *ex officio* is now no longer used in the *Church of England*. As to the Establishment of a Discipline and Government by Lay-Elders, had it been more desirable than really it is, no Man, that considers in what Circumstances the Nation was, the great Numbers of *Papists*, *Lutherans*, and *Friends of King Edward's Reformation*, can think it a *practicable Scheme*. 'Tis in the Nature of it very *unsuitable* to a *Monarchical Government*; indeed the *absolute* and *independent Powers*, these Gentlemen claim'd of making *Laws*, WITHOUT the *Consent* of the ^{Vid. Cartw.} *Magistrate*, obliging him to see *their Defence of the Admon.* Decrees *executed*, and punish the Contemners of them, were not *very consistent*

sistent with civil Government of any Kind. Moreover, the very Maintenance of these Ruling Elders, in every Parish, must have occasioned no small Expence, especially as so large an Allowance was allotted them, by their admired Leader Mr. Cartwright. 'Tis true, when they could not obtain such Provision for them, they endeavoured to go on without it. But we are not considering what Points they have been able to carry, but what

Vid. Sum of they really aimed at. This Expence in a Speech in maintaining their Ruling-Elders, was Parl. L. of accordingly made one Objection to their *Whitgift Ap-*
pend. p. 109. Scheme in the *House of Commons*. But

let us hear Mr. Cartwright in his Interpretation of that Passage of St. Paul.

1. Tim. 5.17. *The Elders which rule well are worthy of double Honour.* "whereby, says he, the Apostle signifies a plentiful Reward, and such as may be fully sufficient for them and their Hous- holds." The Government, however, did not think it safe or prudent to displease the People, by laying so heavy a Tax upon them; besides, had such a Consistory been established in every Parish, what *Confusion* and *Disorder*, considering the different Sentiments of different Parishes, must have arisen thro' the Nation? A Man that had been held in high Esteem with some

Calvi-

Calvinistic Elders, must have fallen under the Censures of a *Lutheran* Consistory, and so *vice versa*; for as these *Consistories* claim their Power by *Divine Right*, they were not to be regulated by human Laws, the *whole Government of the Church* being committed to themselves. Rather than embark in such a Scheme, the Bishops and Clergy chose to continue the discouraging Wickedness, by publick Exhortations, as well as private Advice and Admonition, and every other lawful Method, till the Discipline of the Church could be made more perfect and effectual.

We have now seen, that the Scheme of the Puritans, or Favourers of the *Geneva Model*, was attended with many Difficulties, and liable to strong Objections; that they had no considerable or valid Objection to the *Establishment* of the Protestant Religion, much *more Catholick* and comprehensive than *any proposed* in its stead. This was not only more unexceptionable than any other; but besides its nearer Conformity to Scripture in some Particulars, and the earliest Practices of the Christian Church in others, there were some additional Arguments in its Favour.

Admon. i.

It has been proved, beyond all Dispute, that the Queen was not a Papist in her Heart, but sincerely design'd to abolish Popery. The Measures she took were the most proper and subservient to this great and arduous Undertaking. There were many Reasons, besides those already mention'd, why her Reformation shou'd proceed upon King Edward's Plan. One was, that vast Numbers of good and pious Men had suffer'd greatly, and not a few had dy'd in the Flames, upon that Account. The Blood of these Martyrs had gain'd great Regard and Esteem to that Doctrine, Government, and Worship, for which their Lives were offer'd. Many People undoubtedly had a greater Affection, and would naturally become more zealous for that Form, for which themselves, their Relations and Friends, had suffer'd so much, than for a new one imported from Geneva, unknown and untry'd in England. This Reason had great Weight with the Exiles in Queen Mary's Reign, who warmly press'd their Brethren that afterwards removed from Francfort to Geneva, to a full Conformity ; " earnestly entreating them to " reduce the English Churche now " begun there [at Francfort] to its former Perfection, off the laste had in " England.

Troubles of
Frankfort.

" England, so farre as possibly could be
" attained, leaste, say they, by much
" altering of the same, we shoulde
" seeme to condemne the chieff Authors
" thereof, who, as they now suffer, so
" are they most ready to confirm that
" Facte with the Price of their Bloud,
" and shoulde also both give *Occasion*
" to our *Adversaries* to accuse our
" Doctrine of Imperfection, and us of
" *Mutabilitie*, add the *Godlie to dowlte*
" in that Truth wherein before they
" were persuaded, and to hinder their
" coming hither, &c." This Reason-
ing had the same Force, when Queen
Elizabeth was to restore the Protestant
Religion, and must naturally fix her
Thoughts upon King *Edward's* Refor-
mation. This was held in great Esteem
abroad, was look'd upon by the *most*
temperate Protestants as an happy *Me-*
dium between Calvinists and Luthe-
rans, and as such, most proper for that
great *Princess*, who resolved to support
the whole reformed Interest ; it was
settled upon very mature Advice and
Consideration, being the Work of a
great deal of Time, to fix it upon so
good a Basis. It was, moreover, one
considerable Advantage, that this Plan
of King *Edward* had not only been
twice before confirm'd by Parliament,
but

but had also in a manner been *universal-*
ly comply'd with. When the Popish
Strype's Ann. Bishops advised the Queen, in a Letter
Vol. 1. p. 145. wrote for that Purpose, not to be led
astray, and perzuaded to embrace
Schisms and Heresies in the lieu of the
Catholick Faith, she justly upbraids
them with their former Compliance,
and thereupon adds, who then are
Schismaticks and Hereticks? When the
Emperor and *Popish Princes* warmly
interposed for the Popish Bishops and
Clergy, she was the better able to deny
their Requests, as she could alledge,
Vid. Q. Eliz. " that the Popish Bishops had insolent-
Letter 1 Vol. " ly and openly opposed the Laws and
Ann. p. 148. " the Peace of the Realm; and did still
" wilfully reject that Doctrine which
" many of them had publickly own'd
" and declared in their Sermons dur-
" ing King Henry VIII. and King
" Edward VI. their Reigns." It was
of great Consequence to the Queen, to
be able to give so good a Reason, when
she refused a Favour importunately ask'd
by Powers so very considerable.—
Besides, the contriving a *new Form*, and
overturning at once all the *Ecclesiasti-*
cal Laws and Usages, must have been
attended with *insuperable Difficul-*
ties. What different Opinions, what
Debates, what irreconcileable Animo-
sities

sities must have arisen, if the Queen had thrown aside her Brother's Plan, and follow'd their Advice who were for introducing, as Mr. N. himself allows, the Service and Discipline they ^{N's History p. 137.}

had learned at Geneva? How much more practicable and easy was the Restoration of the Protestant Religion, by re-establishing King Edward's Form, than if every Part of the Ecclesiastical Constitution, the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of the Church had been to be re-examined, debated, and particularly settled? How difficult and tedious, if not impracticable a Work had this been? In the mean time, the People must have continued under a Popish Worship, which was then established, 'till the Legislature had decided all these intricate Points; whereas, by fixing upon King Edward's Reformation, the Busines, by the divine Blessing, was speedily and effectually done—Be it enacted, that Queen ^{1 Eliz. cap. 2.}

Mary's Statute of Repeal, and every thing therein contain'd, be made void, and of none Effect—at once finished this great and glorious Work.

'Tis impossible, upon this Occasion, to do Justice to the Wisdom, Courage and Piety of this Protestant Princefs, without placing her Opponents in a disadvantageous

tageous Light. All the Arguments for re-establishing King Edward's *Reformation*, that Reformation which was so moderate and catholick, so satisfactory to pious Men, and so well calculated to reconcile and support all Protestants, are so many Reasons against the Conduct of those who opposed this Reformation, and, for the sake of a narrower Plan, aspersed her Government, when living, or her Memory now she is dead: Who then represented her as a Favourer of *Papistry*, or now describe her as *N's History.* having an Heart not to be alienated from the Papists, by any Plots or Conspiracies against her Crown or Life.

The Puritans themselves seem convinced, that Queen *Elizabeth* proceeded in the most wise and prudent manner, while they abuse her Conduct under the opprobrious Names of *Craft* and *Cunning*. " Well, by God's Power
Part of a Reg. P. 14.
 " (says one of them, in what is called
 " a Godly and Zealous Letter) we
 " have fought with the Wolves for
 " these and such like Popish Chaffe,
 " and God hath given us the Victory:
 " We have now to do with the Foxes;
 " let us not fear; there is no *Craft*,
 " *Cunning*, or *Policy*, against the Lord.
 " We have Christ and his Apostles,
 " and all the Prophets ever striving
 " against

" against the *Hypocrites* of their Time,
 " on our Side. A Straw for Popish
 " Policy." But, notwithstanding this
 abusive Language, the prudent Mea-
 sures taken by Queen *Elizabeth* justly
 entitle her to great Esteem, and expose
 her Adversaries to great Contempt.
 The Zeal she discovered, and the Ha-
 zards she ran, for the Protestant Reli-
 gion, deserved other Returns, than asperf-
 ing and disturbing her Government.

Mr. *Strype* has preserved a most humane
 Letter from Archbishop *Parker* to

Life of Arch-
bishop Parker.
p. 187.

Mr. *Sampson*, a famous Puritan, with a
 remarkable Passage to this Purpose,
 wherein with much Gravity and Sweet-
 ness he persuaded him to unite himself
 with the Practice enjoined in the Church.

" Mr. *Sampson*, after my hearty Com-
 " mendations, I am glad that my Let-
 " ters, in your Behalf, to the Church,
 " took such Effect as you desired—
 " So again I have written my Letter,
 " to obtain your other Request; pray-
 " ing you in Jesus Christ to salve against
 " this great Offendicle risen by your
 " Dissent from the Course of the Gos-
 " pel: Remember what Obedience so
 " great Liberty of the whole Doctrine
 " of Christ granted, requireth at your
 " Hands, &c.

C H A P. II.

THERE is a second Observation which naturally offers it self upon this Occasion, *viz.* That the Puritans did not desire a *Toleration*, but the *Establishment* of their own Scheme, such an Establishment of it, as would have kept *all* others, in particular the *Lutherans*, and the Friends of *King Edward's Reformation*, out of the Church; and, as they did not desire a *Toleration* themselves, so they *would not grant it to others*. The full *Establishment* of their own Plan, absolute and universal Compliance with it, without any Favour or Indulgence, was what they wrote for, and earnestly endeavour'd to obtain.

This gives so disagreeable an Idea of these Gentlemen, and seems so heavy a Charge against them, that 'tis requisite to *prove* it distinctly from *their own* most approved Writings. If this be done, it must appear, that the only Dispute was, whether a rigid narrow *Scheme*, imported from the *Republick of Geneva*, should be the established Religion of the Kingdom of *England*, or whether the Government should appoint *such a Form* as would be vastly
more

more extensive, and take in the moderate Men of all Persuasions. In the Preface of their famous *Admonition* to the *Parliament*, which is always appeal'd to, as containing the general Sense of the Party, they give the following Advice. " And let us all with
" more earnest Prayer than we are
" wont, earnestly recommend it to
" God his Blessing ; and namely, that
" it will please him by his Spirit, to
" lighten the Heart of our most gracious
" Sovereign, and the Rest in Authority,
" to the Benefit of his *small*
" *Flock*, and the *OVERTHROW* of their
" proud *Enemies*, that Godliness may
" by them proceed in Peace." And
that we might not be at any Loss to
know who these proud Enemies are,
that they desire to be overthrown, they
describe them very distinctly, " Cer-
tain Men whose *Credit* is great, and
whose *Friends* are many, we mean
the Lordly Lords, *Archbishops*, *Bi-*
shops, *Suffragans*, *Deans*, *University*
Doctors, and *Bachelors* of *Divinity*,
Archdeacons, *Chancellors*, and the
Rest of that proud Generation,
WHOSE KINGDOM MUST DOWN, hold
they never so hard ; because their
tyrannous Lordship cannot stand with
Christ's Kingdom," Can there be a
more

more compleat Subversion of any Constitution, Root and Branch? Not only the Dignitaries of the Church, but the Members of Colleges too, *University Doctors*, and Bachelors of Divinity! In the Admonition it self, this *small Flock* addresses the Parliament in the following Manner.

Admon. I.
p. 1.

" Now, because
 " many Men see not all Things, and
 " the World in this Respect is marvel-
 " oufly blinded ; it has been thought
 " good to prefer to your Godly Con-
 " siderations, a *true Platform* of a
 " Church reform'd, to the End that it
 " being laid before your Eyes, to be-
 " hold the *great Unlikeness* betwixt it
 " and this our *English Church* : You
 " may learn either with *perfect Hatred*
 " to detest the *one*, and with *singular*
 " *Love* to embrace, and careful En-
 " deavour, to plant *the other* ; or else
 " to be without Excuse before the
 " Majesty of our God." A little after
 reciting a Catalogue, *Lord Bishop*, *Suf-*
fragan, *Dean*, *Archdeacon*, &c. they
 add ; " All which, together with their
 " Offices, as they are strange and un-
 " unheard of in Christ's Church ; nay,
 " plainly in God's Word *forbidden*, so
 " are they *utterly, with Speed*, out of
 " the same to be *removed*." Nothing
 can be more express than what soon
 fol-

Ibid. p. 4.

follows. " You must (say they very ^{Ibid. p. 5.}
 authoritatively to the Parliament) " dis-
 " place those ignorant and unable Mi-
 " nisters already placed, and in their
 " Rooms appoint such as both can and
 " will, by God's Assistance, feed the
 " Flock." Not only the whole Body
 of the Clergy are to be deprived and
 ejected, but the Constitution it self
 thrown down, and the very Foundation
 of it raz'd. " OVERTHROW (say they) ^{Ibid.}
 " without Hope of Restitution, the
 " Court of Faculties — remove *Homi-*
lies, Articles, Injunctions, and that
prescript Order of Service made out
of the Mass-Book." And that none
 might presume to violate their In-
 junctions, they desired to have them
 enforced by *wholesome Severities.* " To ^{Ibid. p. 7.]}
 " redress these, your Wisdoms have to
 " remove, as before, ignorant Ministers,
 " — to enjoin *Deacons* and Midwives
 " not to meddle in Ministers Matters ;
 " if they do, to see them SHARP-
 " LY PUNISHED." One hardly knows
 which to complain of most, the Want
 of *Modesty*, or of Christian *Charity*, in
 this Proposal of inflicting *sharp Pun-*
nishments upon *Deacons* that officiated
 as Ministers, when the Body of the *En-*
glish Clergy thought *Deacons one Order*
 of Ministers in the Christian Church,

and a particular Form was accordingly appointed for their Ordination as such. In like Manner, in a Bill preferr'd to the *Parliament*, together with their own Platform, they desired to have it enacted. " That as much of all former Laws, Customs, Statutes, Ordinances and Constitutions, as limit, establish, and set forth to be used, any other Service, Administration of Sacraments, Common-Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Orders, or Government of the Church, within this Realm, or any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries, be from henceforth utterly void, and of none Effect." Thus also in the Complaint of the Commonalty, they advis'd the Parliament " To suffer no Contradiction by any whatsoever [the Queen, it seems, had sometimes interposed in these Matters] nor admit any Impediment, whatsoever Satan shall object, but arm your self with that zealous & alibi. and heroical Spirit of Christ Jesus, which he had when he purged the Temple of Buyers and Sellers, and prepare a sacred Law for a learned Ministry, as a Whip with Cords, to drive and keep out all the Buyers and Sellers." This was a *Complaint* addrest to the *Parliament*. In another Piece, entitled,

Strype's
Whigft.

*Vid. Strype's Ann.
N's Hist.
p. 266, 272,
& alibi.
Part of a Re-
gister, p. 271.*

entitled, a *Supplication* to the High Court of *Parliament*, we find these Supplic. p. 18.

Words : " Unless, without Delay, you labour to cleanse the Church of all Lord Bishops, Dumb Ministers, Non-Residents, Archdeacons, Commissaries, and all other Romish Officers and Offices, there tolerated, and so tolerated, as by the Consent and Authority of the Parliament they are maintained ; that you are, both in this Life and the Life to come, likely to be subject unto the untolerable Masses of God's Wrath, the Execution whereof is not unlikely to fall upon you and your Houses, unless you prevent the Fierceness of the Lord's Indignation." Agreeable to this, the famous *Martin Mar-Prelate*, to all the Clergy, Part II. " My Desire is, to have the Matter try'd, whether your Places ought to be tolerated in any Christian Common-wealth ? I say, they ought not." Thus again the same Author : " This learned Discourse [which he had mention'd before] is a Book allow'd by ALL the Puritan Preachers in the Land, who would have all the Remnants and Relicts of Antichrist banish'd out of the Church, and not so much as a Lord Bishop (no not his Grace himself)

" self) Dumb Minister (no not Dumb
 " John of London himself) Non-Re-
 " sident, Archdeacon, Abby-Lubber,
 " or any such Loyterer, tolerated, in
 " our Ministry."

The *Holy Discipline* of the Church, described in the Word of God, anciently contended for, and, as far as the Times would suffer, practised by the first Non-conformists, in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, was printed by Authority in the Year 1644. 'Twas said to be found in the Study of that *most accomplish'd Divine* (as he is there called) Mr. Thomas Cartwright. Mr. N. tells us, " This Book was in high Esteem among the Puritans; that it was drawn up in Latin by Mr. Travers, and printed at Geneva: But, since that time, had been diligently review'd, corrected and perfected, by Mr. Cartwright (who translated it) and other learned Ministers at their Synods; That it contains the Substance of those Alterations in Discipline that the Puritans of those Times contend-ed for; and was subscribed by the Brethren hereafter named, as agree-able to the Word of God, and to be promoted by all lawful Means, that it may be established by the Authori-ty of the Magistrate and of the Church."

" Church." They were by no means content with *enjoying* it themselves; all Endeavours were employ'd to have it not tolerated, but *established*; in the mean time *only*, till they could *force* it upon others, were they satisfy'd with using it themselves. 'Tis part of their Subscription, " In the mean time, we ^{N's Hist.}
 promise to observe it, so far as may ^{p. 623.}
 be lawful for us to do, by the publick Laws of this Kingdom, and by
 the Peace of our Church." In this admired Form of Discipline, so earnestly contended for, we have an authentick Proof, how destitute they were of Charity or Condescension to weak Brethren. One of the first Laws are in these Words. " Let none be call'd [to any ^{N's Hist.}
 Ecclesiastical Benefice] " but they who ^{p. 610.}
 have first subscribed the Confession of
 Doctrine and Discipline; whereof
 let them be admonish'd to have Copies with themselves." This must at once have deprived not only the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. but all the Episcopal Clergy throughout the Nation, who could not subscribe to this *Holy Discipline*. No Latitude for tender Consciences, none to be admitted, but those that subscribed to their Doctrine and Discipline. Could any thing more effectually shut the Doors of the

Church against all the Lutheran Protestants, as well as those that approved King Edward's Reformation? Thus much they proposed when they were destitute of Power. If a Minority, a *Small Flock*, as they call themselves, could move for such a Law, and talk of enforcing it by *sharp Punishments*, it was an *Act of Goodness*, as well as *Wisdom*, in the Government, not to comply with their Request, or put the Weapons of Authority into such Hands. But this Subscription did not content them; farther Care was to be taken, that a Minister should never change his Mind, without violating his Promise.

The same *Holy Discipline* enjoins;

" Let him be demanded, whether he
 " will be studious and careful to main-
 " tain and preserve wholesome *Doctrine*
 " and Ecclesiastical *Discipline*. Thus
 " let the Minister be examined, not
 " only by one Eldership, but also by
 " some greater Meeting and Assembly."
 Still all this is not sufficient to satisfy these *strict Calvinists*; no Declaration of a Man's present Faith, or Promise for the future, will do: That *no other Protestant* might ever be admitted into the Church, they had a farther Contrivance; a strict *Enquiry* was to be made into his *former Opinions*, his very *Study*,

in a manner, to be *broke open*, and search'd for *Heretical Books*; the reading of *any* of these is Cause enough for Exclusion from the Church. Let their own Words speak their own Sense. " In *Ibid.* 610.

" the Examination of Ministers (*says*
 " *the same Holy Discipline*) the Testi-
 " mony of the Place from whence they
 " come is to be demanded, whereby it
 " may be understood what Life and
 " Conversation he hath been of, and
 " whether he *hath been* addicted to *any*
 " Heresy, or to the reading of ANY
 " *Heretical Books*, or to curious and
 " strange Questions, and idle Specula-
 " tions; or rather, whether he be
 " accounted *sound* and *consenting* in
 " all Things to the *Doctrine* received
 " in the Church. Whereunto if he
 " agree, &c." What surprizing Care
 to guard against all their Protestant
 Brethren! This was that hopeful Plat-
 form of Discipline for which the King-
 dom was set on Fire. To judge in this
 Cause between the Puritans Scheme and
 the Protestant Establishment, which
 they labour'd to destroy, a Man need
 do no more than compare the narrow
 Spirit of *their* Holy Discipline, with the
 charitable, catholick Temper observed
 in the publick Service, which was de-
 signedly compil'd as a *Medium* between

*Vid. Preface to the Com.
Prayer Book,*

the several Parties, and, as far as was consistent with pleasing God, to include them all. In short, one endeavour'd to comprehend as many Christians as possible in its Communion; the other to establish the rigid Notions of a single Party; and what seems more extraordinary, these Gentlemen talk much of their Regard for *Christian Liberty*. Whether their true Meaning was, *Liberty to persecute*, the Reader may judge from their own Declarations.

N's Hist.
208, 213, &
alibi.

Def. of Admon. p. 51. The Defence of the Admonition gives their Sense upon this Matter very clearly, "They may be of, and in the Commonwealth, which neither may nor can be of, nor in the Church; and therefore the Church having nothing to do with such, the Magistrate ought to see, that they join to hear Sermons in the Place where they are made, whether it be in those Parishes where there is a Church, and so preaching, or where else he shall think best, and cause them to be examin'd, how they profit, and if they profit not, to punish them, and as their Contempt groweth, so to encrease the Punishment, untill such Times as they declare manifest Tokens of Unrepentantness, and then as rotten Members, that do not only no Good, nor Service in the Body,

" Body, but also corrupt and infect
 " others, *cut them off.*" This is their
 severe Gradation ; Punish them.—
 Encrease the Punishment. — Cut them
 off. It were easy to multiply Quota-
 tions of this Sort, but as these already
 mentioned contain the Sense of the
 whole Party, and are taken from their
 celebrated Pieces, composed with *gene-*
ral Consent or Approbation, 'tis need-
 less to produce more Passages of the
 same Purport ; however, we must not
 omit that express Declaration which
 Mr. N. mentions, *Page 134.* " 'Tis
 " the Prince's Province to protect and
 " defend the *Councils* of his Clergy
 " to keep the Peace, to see their De-
 " crees executed, to *punish* the Con-
 " temners of them, but to exercise no
 " spiritual *Jurisdiction.*" Far indeed
 from exercising any spiritual Juris-
 diction ! for their famous Leader Mr.
 Cartwright tells us, " It must be re-
 " member'd, that Civil Magistrates must
 " govern the Church according to the
 " Rules of God prescribed in his Word,
 " and that as they are *Nourises* (*Nur-*
 " *ses*) so they be *Servants* unto the
 " Church ; and as they rule in the
 " Church, so they must remember to
 " subject themselves unto the Church,
 " to submit their *Scepters*, to throw
 " down

Ibid. p. 180.

“ down their Crowns, before the
 “ Church; yea, as the Prophet speaketh,
 “ to lick the *Dust* of the Feet of the
 “ Church.” What does this amount to
 less, than that this celebrated *Geneva
 Church* was to try and *condemn* Men
 for *Heresy* in *England*, as it had done
 at home; and then *deliver* them over
 to the *secular Arm*; who, as the *Ser-
 vant* of the Church, was, by no Means,
 to fail inflicting condign Punishment
 upon the *CONTENMERS* of *their Dec-
 crees*. Mr. N. sure, was unacquaint-
 ed with this Part of the Character
 of the Puritans, when he applauds
 them for “ using no other Wea-
 “ pons but Prayers and Tears, at-
 “ tended with Scripture and Argu-
 “ ment.” Their Power indeed to inflict
sharp Punishments was not so great as
 they desired, but where they had any,
 they took care to exert it, and com-
 mend themselves for so doing. “ We
 “ allow not (*say they*) of Papists; of
 “ the Family of Love; of Anabaptists
 “ or Brownists: No, we *punish* all
 “ these.” This Mr. N. quotes from
 Mr. *Strype*, whose Words are stronger
 than he has thought fit to put them.
 “ We allow not of the Papists, their
 “ Subtilties and Hypocrisies; we allow
 “ not of the Family of Love, an Egg
 “ of

N's Hist.
p. 595.

Strype's Ann.
Vol. III.
p. 184.

N's Hist.
p. 388.

" of the same Nest ; we allow not of
 " the Anabaptists, nor their Communi-
 " ty ; we allow not of Brown, the *Over-*
thrower of Church and Common-
wealth ; we abhor all these. No,
 " [we] PUNISH all these." Were one
 to gues at the Reason why the De-
 scription here given of *Brown*, the
Overthrower of Church and Common-
wealth, is omitted, it might be imagin'd
 to be this : " Some of his Principles^{N's Hist.}
 " were adapted and improved by a^{p. 376.}
 " considerable Body of Puritans, in the
 " next Age."

Before this Head is concluded, it
 may not be improper to take Notice of
 the *particular Severity* which the *Pur-*
titans used towards those who differ'd
 from them upon the Article of *Free-*
will. This they always brand with
 the odious Name of *Popery*, in order to
 represent those of that Opinion in the
 most disagreeable Colours, and raise
 the strongest Aversion against them. We
 have a remarkable Instance of this sort
 in a celebrated Piece, often quoted by
 Mr. N. and held in great Esteem and
 Credit by the Party. 'Tis as follows.

" *The Book of the Generation of Anti-*
christ, the Pope, the reveal'd Child
of Perdition, and his Successors, &c.

Part of a Re-
gister, p. 56.
A View of
Antichrist his
Laws and Ce-
remonies.

" The

“ The Devil begot Darkness, Dark-
“ ness begot Ignorance, Ignorance begot
“ Error and his Brethren, Error begot
“ FREE-WILL and Self-love. Free-will
was the Parent of *Lady Lucre* and
many other Abominations, which,
after long Succession, produced the
“ Pope and his Brethren the *Cardinals*,
“ with all their Successors, Abbots, Pri-
“ ors, and all the BROOD OF POPELINGS,
“ Arch-bishops, Lord-bishops, Arch-
“ deacons, Deans, Chancellors, Com-
“ missaries, Officials, Spiritual Doctors,
“ and Proctors, with the rest of that
“ Viperous Brood, in the *Transmigra-*
“ *tion of Abomination.* The Quære is
unavoidable, Were not such as these fine
Heads to ADMONISH a Parliament, to
reform and settle a Nation, who could
publish such an ingenious and wonderful
Genealogy? The Reader cannot but ob-
serve, that every thing is *Popery* which
these Gentlemen did not relish; *Free-
will* is the very *Root* and Foundation of
it; much worse than a *Surplice*, a
Square Cap, or a *Scholar's Gown*, which
are but the *Leaves* or Branches of
Papistry.

We find, annexed to a *Petition to the
Convocation*, a Piece, called, the *State of
the Church* laid open, in a Conference
or Dialogue between *Diotrephes*, a
Bishop,

Bishop, *Paul*, a Preacher of the Word of God, and others. Part of that Conference or Dialogue runs thus :

Diotr. *Do you not also like of the preaching of Predestination?*

Paul. *Yea, or else should I dislike of preaching the Truth; for it is a Part of God's revealed Will.*

Diotr. *So do not I; in these Days, when there are so many weak ones, I think it to be a very Break-neck of all Religion.*

Paul. *I have heard of Free-will Men that have said so, but I never heard Men of Learning affirm it, but one that was a Bishop, in a Sermon; but his Words were no less than Blasphemy, and so are yours, and all they that say or think the same are guilty of no less Sin.*

Diotr. *Are you a Preacher, and speak so of the Reverend Fathers? It may be it was your own Ordinary, to whom you are sworn, to give canonical Obedience?*

Paul. *'Twas the Bishop, indeed, who usurped over the Place where I dwelt; but I never sware him any Obedience.*

Mr. N. tells us, they set up religious Exercises among themselves, for the Interpretation of Texts of Scripture, which

N's Hist.
p. 275.

which they call'd *Propheſyings*: That they confer'd among themselves touching sound Doctrine and good Life and Manners. Here it was natural to expect, they would allow a *reasonable* Latitude, for the sake of hearing *different* Sentiments, and making a *fair* Examination. But, on the contrary, we find, upon this Occasion, that *Free-will* is ranked with the Pope's Supremacy, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, to be *abjured, renounced, and utterly condemn'd* by every Member, in a *Confession* to be *subſcribed* at his Admission. Mr. N. indeed, has thought fit to *omit* those strong Words, in *his* Account of the Prophesyings, tho' they are a Part of their Subscription, in Mr. *Strype*, whom *he quotes* upon the Occasion. Nor can *this Gentleman* himself be acquitted of *Partiality*, against those who believe the Freedom of the human Will. To represent this Opinion as bad as he could, he chose to give it an invidious Name;
P. 105, 106. 'tis the *Pelagian* Doctrine; and, to render it still more odious, 'tis charged with *supplanting* the received Doctrine of the Reformation. Many of the *Exiles* in Queen Mary's time did embrace the stricter Notions they learned in the foreign Calvinistick Churches; but the *first Reformers* in King *Henry* and King *Edward's*

Edward's Reign were not of the same Opinion, and therefore the latter Sentiments have no Right to be call'd the *Doctrine of the Reformation*. There is somewhat very severe in Mr. N's Reflection, p. 105. " I don't find Mr. N in his any of these *Free-Willers* at the 2d Edition, lays this to Stake." There was no Occasion to mention them in this disadvantageous manner, when his Proof is no more than this: *They did not take Notice of any Differences with their Protestant Brethren, when they came to dye for the Protestant Cause.* " If (says he) any of them suffer'd, they made no mention of their Distinguishing Opinions, when they came to die."

Mr. Strype has preserved *A Pious Mem. Vol. III.* Letter against complying with Idolatrous Worship, in Queen Mary's Days, written by a Free-will Man; which he supposes to be wrote by Henry Hart, one of the chief of them, and afterwards a Prisoner. Mr. N's Account of H. Hart ^{N's Hist.} and others is, that " they ran their Noti-^{p. 103.}" ons as high as the modern Arminians, or as Pelagius himself, despising Learning, &c. He quotes no Authority, nor produces any evidence to support this heavy Censure, which plainly is not levell'd only at those who believed the Freedom of the Human Will in Q. Mary's Days.

C H A P.

C H A P III.

A *Third Observation* which arises from the History of these Times is this. That notwithstanding the *Establishment* was so much *more reasonable* and *catholick* than any proposed by the Puritans; and that they were so *desirous* of having *penal Laws enacted against Dissenters* from their Platform, yet did the Government make no *penal Laws* against the Puritans, as such, *i. e.* mere Non-conformists; and where they fell within the reach of *Laws enacted upon repeated Plots, Conspiracies, and other high Provocations against Papists, Impugners of the Supremacy, and other Disturbers of the State, they were treated with great Lenity and Mildness.*

N's Hist.
P. 123.

The very first Transaction of Queen Elizabeth mention'd by Mr. N. is under this Title: *Preaching forbid.* " The " only thing (says he) her Majesty did " before the meeting of the Parliament " was, to prevent *Pulpit Disputes*; for " some of the *Reformed*, that had been " Preachers in King Edward's time, " began to make use of his Service Book, " without Authority or Licence from " their Superiors; this alarm'd the " Popish

" Popish Clergy, and gave Occasion
 " to a Proclamation, dated Decem. 27.
 " by which all Preaching of Ministers,
 " or others, was prohibited." By this
 Account, it must be thought, the Pro-
 claimation was levell'd against the *re-*
form'd Ministers, whom he represents
 as the only Preachers; and that the
 Papists were no farther concerned, than
 being alarm'd at such a Procedure in
 the Protestants. A fuller Account is
 given by Mr. Strype. " Now did both ^{Ann. Vol. I.}
 " the Evangelicks and Papalins bestir^{p. 41.}
 " themselves for their Parties. The
 " former were afraid the Queen would
 " not set upon the Work of reforming
 " Religion, or make too much Delay
 " in so necessary a Work: The latter
 " were very jealous of her, by the lit-
 " tle she had already done towards a
 " Reformation, that she would, in the
 " End, throw down the late new-raised
 " Structure of their Religion. There-
 " fore, on the one Hand, many of the
 " Gospellers, without Authority, abhor-
 " ring the Superstitions and Idolatry re-
 " maining in the Churches, were guilty
 " of great *Disorders*, in pulling down
 " Images, and such other Relicks there.
 " The other spared not for *lewd Words*
 " poured out against the Queen, with-
 " out Measure or Modesty. And both

" took their Occasions to speak freely
 " their Minds in the Pulpits." It was
 not therefore the Preaching of the Re-
 form'd that occasion'd this Prohibition.
 " Now also, but especially a while af-
 ter (*says Mr. Strype, in the next Page*)
 " when the Parliament came together,
 " and, by their Authority, a common
 " Form of Prayers, in the vulgar Tongue,
 " was like to be brought in, instead of
 " the old Mass, the Popish Priests that
 " could preach bestirr'd themselves every
 " where in the Churches, to prejudice
 " the People against receiving of it."

P. 6.

Mr. N. had asserted in his Preface
 " That the Queen having conceived a
 " strong Aversion to these People (the
 " Puritans) pointed all her Artillery
 " against them." Hence it became ne-
 cessary to represent every Penal Law,
 and every Restraint as design'd to af-
 fect them, when in Truth the chief In-
 tention was to support the Protestant
 Religion, and for that End to suppress
 the daring Insolence of Papists, equal
 Enemies to the establish'd Religion and
 establish'd Government. The History
 and Transactions of the Times will ac-
 count both for the enacting of penal
 Laws, and putting them in Execution.
 As for the moderate and peaceable
 Nonconformists, they were not only
 treated

treated with Lenity, but Favour. So far in Queen Elizabeth's Reign as the Year 1586. Mr. N. allows, there was N's History a very considerable Number preferr'd^{b. 484.} in the Church. For near five Hundred Pages in his Book we hear of little else, but dreadful *Severities* against the Puritans, Exclusions, Suspensions Deprivations, Imprisonments, " The very ^{Ibid. p. 163.} Bread of Life taken from the People, ^{172, 175,} they perish'd for lack of Knowledge, ^{218, 225,} while Men that were capable of in- ^{&c alibi.} structing them were kept out of the Church, at least denied all Preferment in it ; not a few Mechanicks were prefer'd to Dignities and Livings, while others, of the first Rank for Learning, Piety, and Usefulness in their Function, were laid aside. The Bishops were sensible of the Case ; but instead of opening the Door a little wider, to let in some of the more conscientious and zealous Reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate that would come up to the Terms of the Law ; the Bishops ordain'd such as offer'd themselves, how meanly soever qualified, while others who had some Scruples about Conformity stood by unprovided for. Such Injunctions had been framed, as had never been heard of in a Protestant

" Kingdom or a free Government —
 " so that it was *impossible* for an honest
 " Puritan to escape the high Commis-
 " sion. The Papists rejoic'd to see the
 " Reformers weakening their own
 " Hands, by silencing *such Numbers*
 " of the most useful and popular Preach-
 " ers, while the Country was in Dis-
 " tress for Want of them. Great was
 " the *Scarcity* of Preachers about *Eng-*
 " *land* at this Time, [anno 1578] the
 " Ground of this Scarcity was no other
 " but the Severity of the high Com-
 " mission, and the narrow Terms of
 " Conformity." A very melancholly
 Account this! but Mr. N. himself re-
 lieves our Concern, by furnishing an *en-*
tire Confutation of it.

N's History
p. 483.

After all these Complaints in the
 Year 1586, this Gentleman tells us
 of a memorable Transaction; the sub-
 scribing their own *Platform*, intitled
 the *Holy Discipline*, &c. (of which
 Mention has been already made) " and
 " at the same Time resolv'g, that
 " since the MAGISTRATE could not be
 " induced to reform the Discipline of
 " the Church, by so many Petitions and
 " Supplications; that therefore, after
 " so many Years waiting, it was law-
 " ful to act without him, and introduce
 " a Reformation in the best Manner
 " they

"they could." Sure they were not much afraid of Prosecutions, who could, in so formal and publick a Manner enter into a Design to subvert the whole Ecclesiastical Establishment against the Sense of the Legislature, often declar'd to them — After the *Deprivations* of those that were in the Church, and the *Exclusion* of others that could not comply with the Terms required, 'twas hardly to be expected, that a single *Puritan* should be left in the Church, and consequently that this *Subscription* must have been made, and *these Attempts* of subverting the Establishment carry'd on by Puritans, suspended, deprived, or excluded from Preferment, *since it was impossible for one honest Puritan to escape the high Commission*: And yet, on the contrary, notwithstanding the Outcries Mr. N. has made from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign to the Time of this Subscription and Association, no less than 28 Years, we find that the *Holy Discipline, &c.* was, p. 484. as Mr. N. himself asserts, subscribed by ABOVE five hundred Puritan Clergy-Men, ALL *Beneficed* in the Church of *England*; useful Preachers of unspotted Lives and Characters. The Puritans, by this Gentleman's Account, are always Men of exceeding good Characters,

racters, and the Conformists of very bad ones. But to go on, here we see above five hundred Puritans, not only *Beneficed*, but *licensed* to preach! What a substantial Proof is this of the great Lenity of the Archbishops and Bishops, especially as it appears, that among these *Beneficed* and *Licensed* Puritans, we find all their great Leaders, Mr. *Cartwright*, *Travers*, *Field*, *Snape*, *Johnson*, *Sparks*, *Cawdrey*, *Payne*, *Udale*, &c. about fifty of whom Mr. N. has particularly enumerated? What now must the Reader think of this Gentleman's heavy Complaints of severe Usage, the *Deprivation* and silencing of those very Persons, who, by *his own Account*, were all *Beneficed* and preaching in the Church? Here is one important Evidence in favour of Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Bishops*. There are many other considerable *Testimonies* on the same Side. Sir *Francis Walsingham* is, by Mr. N. reckon'd among the Friends of the Puritans, and join'd with the Earl of *Leicester*, the Champion and Supporter of their Cause. Mr. *Fuller* gives this Character of him.
" Amongst all the Favourers of the
" Presbyterians, surely Honesty and
" Wisdom never met more in any than
" in Sir *Francis Walsingham*, of whom
" it

" it may be said (abate for the Disportion) as of St. Paul, tho' poor, " making many rich." *Walsingham*, therefore, can be no partial Evidence for the Church ; the universal Esteem he justly acquired by his Integrity and Wisdom, demands the greater Credit to what he relates. " The Steps of Hist. Refor.
 " the Queen's Proceedings (says Bishop Vol. II. p. 418.
 " Burnet) both against *Papists* and
 " *Puritans*, are so set out by her great
 " and wise Secretary, Sir *Francis*
 " *Walsingham*, in so clear a Manner,
 " that I shall set it down here as a
 " most important Piece of History ;
 " being written by one of the *wisest*
 " and most *virtuous* Ministers, that
 " these latter Ages have produced."

Mr. N. complains of those eminent p. 125.
 Men, Archbishop *Grindal*, Bishop *Cox*,
Horn, *Pilkington* and others, that they
had no *Courage*. They did not dare,
it seems, to oppose the reasonable Mea-
sures of the Legislature. No Body, 'tis
to be hoped, will charge *this Gentle-*
man with the *same* Defect, who has
ventured his own *Reputation* against so
great, so *wise*, and *good* a Man as
Sir *Francis Walsingham*; who has even
shewn *Courage* enough to accuse that
celebrated Minister, of *Falshood* and N's Hist.
Misrepresentations, or, in his own p. 599.

Words, of being guilty of *false Colourings*, in Affairs that fell within his *own Knowledge*, and in the conducting of which he had a very great Share; tho' Mr. N. cries out, *was there any Thing like what Walsingham asserts*; yet, as Walsingham lived in those Times, and Mr. N. did not, as he speaks from his *own Knowledge*, and was no Enemy to the Puritans, his Testimony shall be laid before the Reader, who, when he considers, how able, and how honest a Man he was, will pay a due Regard to it. "I am glad, (says this great Man) to impart that little I know — I find her Majesty's Proceeding to be grounded upon two Principles.

"The one, that *Consciences are not to be forced*, but to be won and induced by Force of Truth, with the Aid of Time, and the Use of all good Means of Instruction and Persuasion.

"The other, that Causes of Conscience, when they exceed their Bounds, and grow to be matter of *Faction*, lose their Nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices, and Contempt; tho' colour'd with the Pretence of Conscience and Religion." After having repre-

represented her Proceedings towards the Papists, and given the Reasons from their *Conduct* of the *Laws* made against them, he states the Case of the Puritans, as follows.

" For the other Party, which have
 " been offensive to the State, tho' in another Degree [was Mr. N. conscious, that Walsingham's Account of the Puritans would be credited, that he has suppress'd these important Words, in both Editions of his Book, without any Mark, notwithstanding he assures us, pag. 597. *I shall transcribe his own Words.*] " which named themselves
 " Reformers, and we commonly call
 " Puritans; this hath been the Proceeding towards them; a great while, when they inveigh'd against such Abuses in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, only their Violence was sometimes censured; when they refused the Use of some Ceremonies and Rites, as superstitious, they were tolerated with much Connivancy and Gentleness; yea, when they call'd in Question the Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to [bring] a Democracy into the Church, yet their Propositions were here consider'd, and, by contrary Writings,

" Writings, debated and discussed. Yet
" all this while it was perceived, that
" their Course was dangerous, and ve-
" ry popular; as, because Papistry was
" odious, therefore it was ever in their
" Mouths, that they sought to purge
" the Church from the Relicks of Pa-
" pistry; a thing acceptable to the Peo-
" ple, who love ever to run from one
" extream to another.

" Because Multitude of Rogues, and
" Poverty was an Eye-sore, and a Dis-
" like to every Man; therefore they
" put into the People's Head, that if
" Discipline were planted, there should
" be no Vagabonds nor Beggars, a thing
" very plausible; and in like manner
" they promised the People many of
" the impossible Wonders of their Dis-
" cipline; besides, they open'd to the
" People a way to Government, by their
" Consistory and Presbytery; a Thing,
" tho', in Consequence, no less preju-
" dicial to the Liberties of private
" Men, than to the Sovereignty of Prin-
" ces; yet, in first Shew, very popular.
" Nevertheless This, except it were in
" some few that enter'd into extream
" Contempt, was borne with, because
" they pretended, in dutiful manner,
" to make Propositions, and to leave it

" to

" to the Providence of God, and the
" Authority of the Magistrate.
" But now, of late Years, when
" there issued from them that affirm'd,
" the Consent of the *Magistrate* was
" not to be attended; when, under a
" Pretence of a Confession, to avoid
" Slander and Imputations, they com-
" bin'd themselves by *Classes and Sub-*
" *scriptions*; when they descended to
" that vile and base Means of *defacing*
" the Government of the *Church*, by
" ridiculous *Pasquils*; when they be-
" gun to make many Subjects in *doubt*,
" to take *Oaths*, which is one of the
" fundamental Parts of Justice in this
" Land, and in all Places; when they
" began both to vaunt of their *Strength*
" and the *Number* of their *Partisans*
" and Followers, and to use *Communi-*
" *tions* that their *Cause* would *prevail*,
" thro' *Uproar and Violence*; then it
" appeared to be no more Zeal, no
" more Conscience, but meer Faction
" and Division; and therefore, tho' the
" State were compell'd to hold some-
" what a harder Hand, to restrain them,
" than before, yet was it with *as great*
" *Moderation* as the *Peace* of the State
" or *Church* would permit—As things
" themselves alter'd, the Queen ap-
" plied her religious Wisdom to Me-
" thods

" thods correspondent unto them ; still
 " retaining the *two Rules* before men-
 " tion'd, and *dealing tenderly* with
 " *Consciences*, and yet in discovering
 " *Faction from Conscience*, and Softness
 " from Singularity.

Thus far this great and honest Statesman. The next Evidence is a Divine, of great Distinction, the Reverend Mr. John Fox, the Martyrologist, of whom Mr. N. gives the following Character. " He was a most learned, *pious*, and *judicious* Divine, of a catholic Spirit, and *against all Methods of Severity in Religion*; but he was shamefully neglected, for some Years, because he was a *Non-conformist*, and refused to subscribe the *Canons and Ceremonies*." His Testimony, therefore, is beyond Exception. Let us first hear the good old Man, as to the *Puritans*, and then as to the *Queen*. THEY expell'd his Son from Magdalen College, without any *Admonition* or *Crime alledged* against him; upon which, he writes, as follows, to a Reverend Bishop.

Fuller Lib. IX. " It has always, I confess, been my great Care, if I could not be serviceable

Illud confiteor, semper cavisse me sedulo, ut si minus prodesse multis licuerit, ne sciens tamen obessem cuiquam, tum minime vero omnium Magdalensibus, quo magis id mihi

able to many Persons, yet not know-
 ingly to injure any one, and least of
 all those of *Magdalen College*; I
 cannot therefore but the more won-
 der at the *turbulent Genius* which in-
 spires those *factious Puritans*, so that,
 violating the Laws of Gratitude, de-
 spising my Letters and Prayers, disre-
 garding the Intercession of the Presi-
 dent himself, without any previous
 Admonition, or assigning any Cause,
 they have exercised so great *Tyran-*
ny against *me* and my Son. Were I
 one who, like them, would be *vio-*
lently outrageous against Bishops and
 Archbishops, or join myself with them,
 that is, would become *mad*, as they
 are, I had not met with this severe
 Treatment. Now because, *quite dif-*
ferent from them, I have chose the
 Side of *Modesty* and *publick Tran-*
quillity,

mihi admirationi habetur, quis tam turbulentus Genius
 factiosa ista Puritanorum capita efflaverit, ut sic violatis gra-
 tiarum legibus, sprexis meis ad se literis & precibus, con-
 tempta ipsius praesidis intercessione, nulla premissa admoni-
 tione, nec causa redditia, tantam hanc in me, filiumque ty-
 rannidem exercuerint. — Quod si enim is essem, qui
 perbacchari cum eis contra Episcopos & Archi-Episcopos,
 aut scribam me praebere illorum ordini, hoc est, insanire
 cum illis voluisse, nunquam istos in me aculeos exacui-
 sent. Nunc quia totus ab *us alienus*, partes illas sectari ma-
 luerim, quæ modestiæ sunt, & publica tranquillitat, hinc odio
 in me conceptum jamdiu, in hanc demum effervuit
 acerbitatem. Quod cum ita sit, non jam quid *mea* causa
 velitis facere, id postulo, quin potius quid *vestra* ipsorum
 causa

" quillity, hence the Hatred they have
 " a long time conceived against me, is,
 " at last, grown to this Degree of Bit-
 " terness. As this is the Case, I do
 " not so much ask what you will do
 " on my Account, as what is to be
 " thought of for your own sakes; you,
 " who are Prelates of the Church, again
 " and again consider. As to myself,
 " tho' the taking away the Fellowship
 " from my Son is a great Affliction to
 " me, yet, because this is only a pri-
 " vate Concern, I bear it with more
 " Moderation; I am much more mov-
 " ed upon Account of the Church,
 " which is public. I perceive a certain
 " Race of Men rising up, who, if they
 " should increase and gather Strength
 " in this Kingdom, I am sorry to say
 " what Disturbance I foresee must fol-

causa cogitandum fit; vos, qui proceres estis ecclesiae etiam
 atque etiam deliberate. Quod ad me autem attinet, quam-
 vis erupta filio societas haud leni afficit animum ægritudine,
 tamen quia res privata agitur, hoc fero moderatius. Magis
 me commovet publica Ecclesiae ratio. Video enim suboriri
 quoddam hominum genus, qui si invalescant, viresque in hoc
 regno colligant, piget hic referre, quid futura perturbationis pra-
 sagit mihi animus. Olim sub Monachorum fucata Hypocrisi,
 quanta fit nata lues Religioni Christianæ, minimè ignorat
 prudentia tua. Nunc in ipsis nescio quod novum Monacho-
 rum genus reviviscere videtur, tanto illis perniciosius, quanto
 calidiore fallendi artificio, sub praetextu perfectionis personati
 isti Hispiones gravius occultant venenum, qui dum omnia
 exigunt ad strictissime sua discipline, & conscientiae gnomo-
 nes, haud videantur prius defituri, donec omnia in Iudaicam
 redigant servitatem.

" low

“ low from it. Your Prudence is not
 “ ignorant how much the Christian Re-
 “ ligion suffered *formerly* by the Dissi-
 “ mulation and Hypocrisy of the *Monks*.
 “ At present, in these Men, I know not
 “ what *new sort* of *Monks* seems to re-
 “ vive, so much the more *pernicious*
 “ than the former, as with more subtle
 “ Artifices of deceiving, under *Pretence*
 “ of Perfection, like Stage-Players, who
 “ only act a Part, they conceal a more
 “ dangerous Poison ; who, while they
 “ require every thing to be formed ac-
 “ cording to the Rules of their own
 “ strict *Discipline* and Conscience, will
 “ not desist, till they have brought all
 “ things into *Jewish Bondage*.

Upon this Letter, Mr. Fuller bids us
 remark the “ *Violence of rigid Non-*
 “ *conformists* : We may plainly per-
 “ ceive (*says he*) by this Letter, how
 “ powerful the Party of *Non-conformists*
 “ was grown at this time, and to what
 “ *Violences* and *Extravagances* some
 “ went in their Practices ; insomuch,
 “ that Dr. *Humphreys*, then President
 “ of *Magdalen*, and Mr. *Fox* himself
 “ (both which scrupled Subscription in
 “ some Particulars) were deserted by
 “ them, as lukewarm and remiss in the
 “ Cause.” Mr. Fuller preserved this
 Letter of Mr. *Fox*, “ to shew, that tho’
 “ Mr. *Fox*

Ibid. p. 107.

Ibid. p. 106.

" Mr. Fox came not up in all Particulars (as he expresses it) to cleave the Pin of Conformity, yet he utterly distasted the factious People of that Age." What Treatment Mr. Fox and his Son, upon account of his Father's peaceable and quiet Principles, met with from the Puritans, the Reader has seen; how he was treated by the Church, Mr. Fuller, whom Mr. N. quotes, informs us. " Father John Fox (for so Queen Elizabeth term'd him) summon'd (as I take it) by Archbishop Parker, to subscribe, that the general Reputation of his Piety might give the greater Countenance to Conformity : The old Man produced the New Testament in Greek ; to this (saith he) will I subscribe. But when a Subscription to the Canons was required of him, he refused it — However, such Respect did the Bishops (most, formerly, his Fellow-Exiles) bear to his Age, Parts and Pains, that he continued his Place to the Day of his Death." This last Clause Mr. N. in transcribing, has changed into the following Words. " But the Commissioners had not COURAGE ENOUGH to deprive a Divine of so much Merit, who held up the Ashes of Smithfield before their Eyes.

Mr. N.

Mr. N. will not be envy'd any Pleasure he can receive from thus altering a Quotation, in order to explain an Instance of *Friendship* and *Regard* to *Merit*, into the mean Passions of *Fear* and *Cowardice*, meerly because the Favour shew'd to Mr. Fox proceeded from an *Archbishop* and *Bishops*. But there is another Remark relating to this good old Man. Mr. N. to give the greater credit to his List of Puritans, places Father Fox at the *Head* of it; whereas, in truth, he was persecuted by the *Puritans*, and to his Death preferr'd in the *Church*. This Treatment of Mr. Fox by the Puritans Mr. N. omits, tho' it seems a very proper Part of their History, and lay before him in the Book he quotes for the other Story. This by the bye. We have seen Mr. Fox's Sen-^{N's} History timents of the Puritans; let us now see^{p. 210.}

what he says of Queen Elizabeth, in a voluntary Letter that good Man wrote to her. Mr. Strype gives it in the following Words. " To let pafs, most noble Queen, those commonly known things, viz. That preſently, at the Beginning of your most fortunate

L " Reign,

Ut vulgaria illa præteream, quod in ipsis statim felicissimi regni tui auspiciis tot periclitantes cives, & homines extores ab exilio revocaveris; quod Patriam ipsis, nec solum ipsis, sed Patriam quodammodo Patriæ reddideris, Angliamque jamjam pœnitè expirantem luci ac vitæ sue restituoris;

Strype's Ann.
Vol. I. p. 448.

" Reign, you saved so many good Men
 " at home, in Danger of their Lives,
 " and called back so many more abroad
 " from their Banishment; That you
 " restored their own Country to them;
 " and not only to them, but the Coun-
 " try, in a manner, to it self; and
 " *England*, then almost at the very
 " Point of expiring, to its Light and
 " Life again: That, at your said first
 " happy Beginning, having procured
 " Peace, you do now every Day im-

stitueris; quod pacem tuis illis auspiciis partam pergas quotidie studiis ornare & artibus; bonis legibus suum vigorem revocas, noxiis tollis, salutares sufficis.—Certe multo majora haec, omniumque maxima sunt, quod incolita tua Celsitudo Rem Ecclesiasticam non minus quam Publicam, propugnas tam fortiter; quod Religionis curam atque defensionem in te suscipis tam clementer; quod sevas persecutionum faces extinguis, conscientiis diu interclusam Libertatem apperis: Templum Dei & Evangelicae Doctrinae gloriam illustras & provehis: Videlicet, modis omnibus hoc agens, ut profligatis sensim veteris superstitionis Reliquis, sincera Evangelii veritas ad nativum suum nitorem redeat. Declaravit id nuper egregia vox illa ac Responsio Majestatis tuæ ad quorundam preces redditæ Theologorum, de modo videlicet vestiendi. Qua voce quantam uno in die universæ Ecclesiaz pepereris taustitatem, quantum piorum omnium animis solatium, quantum posteritati beneficium, quantum omnibus temporibus lucem, tum tuo insuper nomine quantum quâmque immortale decus, quovis ære perennius, attuleris, vix æstimari poterit. Ingrata omnia Anglorum linguaæ ac literæ futuræ sunt, si patientur tam Divinum hoc, ceteraque multa tuarum Virtutum Trophæa, ulla temporum vetustate abolescere. Accedit ad hunc cumulum singularis porro Majestatis tuæ erga Literarum studia favor: in quibus excolendis, provehendisque, nunquam tam propensam te declarares, nisi quod ipsa in eisdem exulta tam eleganter & perpolita fuisses.

" prove

" prove it, in good Studies and Arts ;
" to the good Laws you give again
" their Force, the bad ones you take
" away, and supply their Rooms with
" such as are wholesome—But assured-
" ly, these things which follow are
" much greater still ; and of all, the
" greatest, that your excellent High-
" ness defendeth so vigorously the Ec-
" clesiastical State, no less than the
" Commonwealth ; that you take upon
" you so affectionately the Care and
" Protection of Religion ; *that you*
" *quench the direful Flames of Perse-*
" *cution* : That you *open a Liberty to*
" *Consciences*, so long shut up : That
" you illustrate and promote the Tem-
" ple of God, and the Glory of Evan-
" gelical Doctrines : That is, by all
" Means endeavouring, that the Re-
" mainder of old Superstition, by little
" and little be destroy'd ; the sincere
" Truth of the Gospel return to its na-
" tive Brightness : This was lately de-
" clared by that excellent Voice and
" Answer of your Majesty, given to the
" Petition of some Divines, concerning
" the Habits ; by which Words, then,
" by your Majesty, spoken, it can scarce
" be thought, how great Prosperity you
" did, in one Day, bring to the whole
" Church ; how great Comfort to the

" Minds of all Godly People; how
 " great Benefit to Posterity; how great
 " Delight to all succeeding Times!
 " and moreover, to your own Name
 " how immortal an Honour! more
 " lasting than any Monument of Brass.
 " The Tongues and Learning of all
 " *Englishmen* would be stained with
 " Ingratitude, should they suffer, as well
 " this Godlike thing, as all the other
 " Trophies of your Virtues, by any An-
 " tiquity of Time, to be abolished.

" Hither must be added, your Ma-
 " jesty's singular Favour towards learn-
 " ed Studies, in the adorning and fur-
 " thering whereof, you would never
 " have shewn your self so inclinable,
 " had you not been so exquisitely fur-
 " nished and dressed your self with
 " them.

The Reader has now seen the Sen-
 timents of good Father *Fox* as to the
 Puritans; the dangerous Schemes they
 had formed; the Violence of their Pro-
 ceedings; and the Necessity of keeping
 a watchful Eye over them. The Chara-
 cter of Q. *Elizabeth*, voluntarily given by
 such an upright and impartial Witness of
 her Conduct, deserves great Regard.
 Sir *Francis Walsingham*'s unprejudiced
 Relation will meet with entire Credit,
 even were it not confirm'd by Mr. N's
 long

long Catalogue of Puritans, and those the most considerable of the Party *beneficed* in the Church, after the Nonconformity and *Opposition* of many Years. Any one who examines the several Acts of Parliament relating to those Affairs, considers the Preambles or the State of Things at the making of them, will find a farther Confirmation, that the Penal Laws were not intended against conscientious and quiet Men, but were thought a *necessary Means* to secure the *publick Welfare*, and restrain those *violent Proceedings*, which *threatened* both the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Parts of the Constitution. The Act of which Mr. N. complains the most, was, as the Preamble sets forth, made " for the " preventing and avoiding of such *great* " *Inconveniencies* and Perils, as might " happen and grow by the *wicked* and " *dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries* and *disloyal Persons*.

The next Thing to be consider'd, is, how it came to pafs, that Conformity was more warmly pres'd, and the Laws relating thereto put in stricter Execution, after fome Years, than they were at the Beginning of the Queen's Reign? And if under this Head it shall appear, that the Conduct of the Puritans gave Occasion to this Proceeding, their Mis-

behaviour ought not, in Justice, to be laid to the Charge of the Government. There is one Observation that destroys far the greatest Part of Mr. N's Complaints. If the Establishment was founded, as we have seen upon a Catholic and comprehensive Bottom ; if it took in the greatest Number of *English Subjects* ; and was the best Medium between foreign Protestants of different Persuasions ; those that would not comply with such a Scheme, should only blame themselves if they lost the Advantages of it. When the Government had made an Establishment, that comprehended the moderate Men of *all* Parties, it was great Wisdom not to reduce it to a narrow Platform, devised by the Bigots of any *one*. " Many of " the *stricter Sort*, says Mr. N. that " had been Exiles for Religion, could " not come up to the Terms of Con- " formity." 'Tis true, many of those, who had been at Geneva, would not be satisfied with any Thing but the Model there used. To have introduced that, had it been practicable, would have been giving up a vast Majority of a Society to the Humour of a few. If these few could not comply with a reasonable and extensive Plan, they could lay the Blame no where so properly, as upon

upon the *Peculiarity* of their own Way of thinking. The Question, therefore, is ; Was *King Edward's Reformation*, as re-established by Queen *Elizabeth*, more proper and comprehensive than the *Geneva Platform*? Was it better accommodated to take in the Generality of the Nation, and unite Protestants ? If so, the Exclusion of those who were unalterably attach'd to another Form, was an Effect that necessarily followed the Establishment of the better Plan. Let the Case be stated as on the other Side ; Had the Calvinistic *Platform* been establish'd, and thereby the whole Body of *Lutherans*, *Episcopalians*, &c. excluded from all Preferment in the Church, what would the Patrons of that Scheme have said, but that the Exclusion of the *Lutherans*, &c. was only to be charged upon themselves, for not complying with their *Geneva Scheme* ? The Reader will judge after what has been said, whether this Reasoning holds, as to the Exclusion of those of the *stricter Sort*, who would not comply with the Terms of Conformity. These Exclusions must happen in *all Countries*, while Mankind think differently ; but can only be charged upon the Legislature, when they neglect the most *Catholick Scheme*,

and embrace one more narrow and *confin'd.* Where this is not the Case, but (a due *Regard* being still had to the *Essentials* of Religion) they proceed upon the most comprehensive Plan; the *Non-admission* of those that *would never enter* into a Church thus constituted, or *removing* afterwards such as will *not observe* the *necessary Terms of Conformity*, and comply with the Conditions upon which they received their Preferment, may be an Unhappiness to them who are thus unavoidably shut out or deprived; but reflects *no more Disgrace* upon the Government, than the enacting any other *useful Law*, which promotes the general Good, tho' with some *Inconvenience* to a few *particular Persons.* "There is no reform'd Church (says the Answer to the Admonition) "but it hath a certain Prescript and "determinate Order, as well touching "Ceremonies and Discipline, as Do- "ctrine, to the which all those are "constrain'd to give their Consent, that "will live under the Protection of it; "and why then may not this Church of "England have it so, in like Manner?" This Observation takes off the Weight of all Mr. N's Complaints, of *Exclusions*, *Suspensions*, and *Deprivations*. If the Establishment was made upon a right

right Bottom, they were in the *Wrong* who did *not comply* with it : If this was a Mistake in their *Will*, they are justly to be blamed ; if in the *Under-standing* only, to be *pitied*. But in either Case the Legislature is blameless, while they *consulted* the general *Good*, and took the *most effectual* Methods to *establish* the *Protestant* Religion. However, tho' the Government could not in *Principle* or *Pru-dence* gratify the *Genevians*, by *estab-lishing* their *Platform*, and the enacting *penal Laws* against *Dissenters* from it, yet they indulged these Gentlemen for a long Time in Non-conformity, and suffer'd them to enjoy many and considerable Preferments in the Church, till their own *Conduct* put some Stop to this Clemency. But still, under all Provocations, peaceable, quiet and conscientious Men met with great Favour and little Disturbance.

" The Queen N's History
" (says Mr. N.) connived at their *Non-*
" *conformity*, till her Government was
" settled, but then declared roundly,
" she had fixt her Standard, and would
" have all her Subjects conform to it ;
" upon which the *Bishops* stiffen'd in
" their Behaviour, explain'd away their
" Promises, and became too severe
" against their dissenting Brethren : "

Thus

Thus far Mr. N. On the contrary
Hist. Refor. Vol. II. p. 421. Sir *Francis Walsingham*; "Her Ma-
 jesty is no Temporizer in Religion;
 " it is not the Success abroad, nor the
 " Change of Servants here at home,
 " can alter her; only as the *Things*
 " themselves alter, she applied her
 " religious Wisdom to the Methods
 " correspondent to them, still retaining
 " the two Rules, *in dealing tenderly*
 " *with Consciences*, and yet in discover-
 " ing *Faction* from Conscience, and
 " Softness from Singularity." 'Tis a
 great Presumption in Favour of the
 Queen, that so wise and honest a Man
 as *Walsingham*, who personally knew,
 and was interested in these Matters,
 gives so good an Account of the publick
 Proceedings. But the Reader will be
 still better able to determine who is to
 be credited, Mr. N. or Sir *Francis
 Walsingham*, when *Facts* are laid
 before him.

In the Year 1564, being *the sixth of*
 the Queen's Reign, she had NOT YET
 DECLARED ROUNDLY *she had fixt her*
Standard, &c. Mr. N's Account is as
 follows: "The Parochial Clergy (he
 " should have said some of them) in
 " City and Country, had an Aversion
 " to the Habits; they wore them
 " sometimes in Obedience to the Law,
 " [they

[they could not then in their Judgments be sinful] “ but more frequent-
 “ ly administer’d without them, for
 “ which some were cited into the Spi-
 “ ritual Courts and admonished. But
 “ the Bishops had not yet [in the sixth
 Year of the Queen’s Reign] “ assum’d
 “ the Courage to proceed to *Suspen-*
 “ *sion and Deprivation.*” Here then,
confessedly is great Indulgence for six
 Years to the Puritans, who were allow’d
 to enjoy the Advantages of the Esta-
 blishment *without complying* with the
Conditions upon which these Advan-
 tages were *legally* granted. How great
 this Indulgence was, and what Liber-
 ties were taken in departing from the
establis’d Rules, we may partly ga-
 ther from a Paper found among *Secre-*
tary Cecil’s Manuscripts, and preserved
 by Mr. Strype, as follows.

Varieties in the Service, and Admi- nistration used.

Some say the Service and Prayer in ^{Service and} *Prayer.*
 the Chancel ; others in the Body of
 the Church. Some say the same in a
 Seat made in the Church ; some in the
 Pulpit, with their Faces to the People.
 Some keep precisely the Order of the
 Book ; others intermeddle Psalms in Me-
 tre ; some say with a Surplice ; others
 without a Surplice.

The

Table.

The Table standing in the Body of the Church in some Places ; in others it standeth in the Chancel. In some Places the Table standeth Altarwise, distant from the Wall a Yard : In some others in the Middle of the Chancel, North and South. In some Places the Table is join'd ; in others it standeth upon Tressels. In some the Table hath a Carpet, and in others it hath none.

Administration of the Communion.

Some with Surplice and Cap ; some with Surplice alone ; others with none. Some with Chalice, some with a Communion Cup ; others with a common Cup. Some with Unleavened Bread, and some with Leavened.

Receiving.

Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting.

Baptizing.

Some baptize in a Font, some in a Bason ; some sign with the Sign of the Cross, others sign not ; some Minister in a Surplice, others without.

Apparel.

Some with a square Cap ; some with a round Cap ; some with a Button Cap ; some with a Hat. Some in Scholars Clothes, some in others.

A Connivance at all this *Latitude*, it seems, would not satisfy them. They who disliked the *Habits, &c.* were not content in being connived at in the Diffuse of them, but proceeded so far as to deride,

deride, insult, and abuse their conforming Brethren. Great Praise was bestow'd upon those who disregarded the Laws, and heavy Censures upon such as observed them. Nay, they went farther than this, and raised great Contentions and Tumults in the Church; instead of preaching true Piety and Virtue; Matters of so little Consequence, as a square Cap, or a Scholar's Gown, were made the Subjects of publick Discourses: Instead of endeavouring to bring Papists to the Protestant Faith, those who were connived at in diffusing the establish'd Dres, severely inveigh'd against their Protestant Brethren that peaceably wore it; against those very Bishops whose Indulgence had either given or permitted them to enjoy considerable Stations in the Church. Mr. N. judging it proper, greatly to soften this Matter, has endeavour'd to explain it into a meer Calumny, a Report artfully rais'd upon the Puritans. " To give Countenance to " this * Severity, it was reported, says " he,

* The Severity Mr. N. complains of was the Queen's requiring the Archbishops and Ecclesiastical Commission, " to take effectual Methods that an exact Order and Uniformity be maintain'd in all external Rites and Ceremonies, as by Law and good Usages are provided for; and that none hereafter be admitted to any Ecclesiastical ferment, but who is well disposed to common Order, and shall formally promise to comply with it. N. Hist. p. 187.

" he, that some of the warmer Puritans had turned the *Habits* into Ridicule, and given *unhandsome Lan-*
 " *guage* to them that wore them;
 " which, according to Mr. *Strype*, was
 " an Occasion of their being prest afterwards with so much Rigour: But
 " whatever gave Occasion to the Persecution that follow'd, or whoever
 " was at the Head of it, *supposing* the
 " *Insinuation* to be just, 'twas very hard
 " that so great a Number of useful
 " Ministers, who neither censured their
 " Brethren, nor abused their Indulgence by an unmannerly Behaviour,
 " should be turn'd out of every thing
 " they had in the Church for the *Indiscretion of a few.*" 'Twas not a meer Report or *Insinuation* against the Puritans, there still remains sufficient Proof to support the Charge; nor was it the Indiscretion of a few, but the general

p. 187. Here again this Gentleman has changed the Words of the Author he quotes; for Mr. *Strype* says (*Life of Parker*, p. 154. " The Queen directed her Letter to her Archbishop, requiring him, with other Bishops, in the Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, that Orders might be taken whereby all Diversities and Varieties among the Clergy and Laity, A S breeding nothing but Contention, and Breach of common Charity, and against the Laws and good Use and Ordinances of the Realm, might be reform'd and repress'd, and brought to one manner of Uniformity." Why should Mr. N. make no Mention of those *Contentions* which were the *very Ground* of the Queen's Proceeding?

Con-

Conduct of the whole Body. The *peaceable few* were distinguished from the *troublesome Majority* of these Men, and treated in a *different Manner*. The *English Laity* Mr. N. himself allows, p. 201. were *more averse* to the Habits than the Clergy. Whence could this Aversion arise, but from the *Puritan Preachers*? Had the People been told, as they ought to have been, if the Subject was mention'd in the Pulpit, that these were Matters of Indifference appointed by Authority; that it did not belong to them to judge or condemn their Ministers or Brethren, especially for obeying Laws made to support the Protestant Religion, and the Queen's Injunctions made in Consequence of those Laws: That her Majesty had expressly declared *she did not mean to attribute any Holiness or special Worthiness to the Garments*: That the People might be *as careful* of their Conduct, and *as effectually* promote their own Salvation, whether their *Minister* wore a Scholar's *Gown*, or a *Geneva Cloak*. Had nothing been said upon the Subject in the Pulpit, or had some such Method as this been taken, and all *Violence, Reproach, and Contempt* discouraged as sinful and uncharitable, the *English Laity*, who had *no Objections*

jections to this Habit under KING EDWARD, could not now have had so strong an Aversion against a Dress not to be worn by themselves. This violent Aversion must be *artfully* and *designedly* rais'd in their Minds. The Endeavours to raise such a *warm Spirit* succeeded but too well among the giddy Multitude. The Populace were effectually inflam'd upon this Occasion. That this Matter may not be aggravated, the Reader shall have it in Mr. N's own Words, and is desired particularly to observe, that these Disturbances were in the Year 1564. BEFORE the Queen's Letter and the Advertisements, requiring the Use of the lawful Habits were published, *i. e.* BEFORE the Queen had declared roundly, &c. and BEFORE the Bishops had explain'd away their Promises. "THE PROTESTANT POPULACE,
" says he, thro'out the Nation were so
" INFLAMED (he should have told us
" by whom) that nothing but an awful
" Subjection to Authority could have
" kept them within the Church. Great
" Numbers refused to frequent those
" Places of Worship where Service was
" Minister'd in *that Dress*. They would
" not salute such Ministers in the
" Streets, nor keep them Company;
" nay, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift,
" in

" in his Defence against *Cartwright*,
 " they *spit in their Faces*, reviled them
 " as they went along, and shewed such
 " like *rude Behaviour*. (The Reader
 is desired to remark what follows)
 " Because they took them for *Papists*
 " in *Disguise*, for *Time-servers* and
 " *half-faced Protestants*, that would
 " be content with the Return of that
 " Religion, whose *Badge* they wore."

This Reason of their Conduct Mr. N.
 asserts to be taken out of *Strype Vol. I.*
 Pag. 460, and marks it as a *Quotation*
 from thence in *both* the Editions of his
 Book ; whereas in *Truth* 'twas the Pro-
 duct of his own Invention. In order to
 vindicate those unprovok'd *Insults* and
 Violences the *conforming Clergy* met
 with from the *Puritans*, Mr. N. him-
 self gives these Reasons to justify their
 tumultuous Proceedings. The Clergy
 of the Church of *England*, many of
 whom had been Exiles and Sufferers
 for the Protestant Religion, were
 " *Papists in Disguise*, *Time-servers*,
 " and *half-faced Protestants*, &c.

whereas in *Strype* it stand thus, " they
Vol. I. p. 460.
 " *spit in their Faces*, reviled them in
 " the Streets, and shew'd such like rude
 " Behaviour towards them, and that
 " only because of their *Apparel*." This,
 and no more, is to be found in Mr.

Strype, relating to this Matter ; so that the Clergy of the Church of *England* are entirely indebted to Mr. N. for that rude and unbrotherly Description of them, *Papists in Disguise, Time-servers, &c.* When this Gentleman is confronted with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Reader will remember this Instance of his exact Fidelity.

But to go on, 'tis agreed on all Hands, the *Nation* was *inflamed* ; it seems highly proper, therefore, to mention some of the *Endeavours* that were used to *raise* this *Flame* in the *Kingdom*, and the rather, because the *History* of the *Puritans* is *silent* upon that Head. When the true *Authors* of this general *Disturbance* are brought to *Light*, 'twill be easy to determine who is to be charged with the Consequences of it. If those Men, who ought *peaceably* and *thankfully* to have enjoy'd their *Liberty*, made Use of that *Indulgence* to *raise* *Tumults* and *Disorders*, to set the *Nation* on *Fire* ; 'twas no Wonder, a *wise* and *careful* Government should require a *stricter* *Obedience* to the *Laws*. Too great Connivance, it was found upon *Trial*, had given Occasion to much *Tumult* and *Faction* ; hence it became *necessary* to insist upon a more exact *Conformity* to the *Rules* established by the

the Wisdom of the Nation, for the Support of the Protestant Religion. 'Tis not at all pretended or alledged, even by Mr. N. that the Refusers of the Habits were *insulted* or abused by the *conforming Clergy*, who had the Laws on their Side, and acted in Obedience to them. While on the other Hand, *peaceable Subjects* were *mobb'd* in the Streets, reviled as they went along, and their *Faces* spit in, ONLY because they appear'd in a *Habit* appointed by proper Authority to distinguish their *Profession*. It must be an unpleasant Circumstance to every good Mind to observe, that this *Fire*, which inflamed the Nation, was kindled at the Altar ; that the *Populace* did little more than practise the *Lessons* their admir'd Leaders taught them : We have some Account of this in Mr. *Strype* two Years before the Government proceeded in the Affair.

" For Matters Ec-
clesiastical, which be indifferent,
there be some Preachers which can-
not abide them, but do murmur,
spurn, kick, and very sharply do in-
veigh against them ; naming them
Things of *Iniquity, Devilish and*
Papistical — One Preacher not
of the baser Sort or *Estimation*, did
glory and boast that he made *Eight*

Vol. I. p. 348.
Ann. 1762.

“ Sermons in LONDON against Surpli-
ces, Rochets, Tippets and Caps,
“ counting them not to be perfect that
“ do wear them, &c.” They contin-
ued in this Way of preaching upon
these Subjects, till, as Mr. N. justly
expresses it, they had inflamed the Pro-
testant Populace throughout the King-
dom. Some of the Consequences of this

Life of Parker
p. 227.

*Strype's Life
of Parker.*
p. 151.

*Part of a Reg.
p. 12.*

are recounted by Mr. Strype; “ Such as
“ Fighting in the Church, Sacrilegious
“ taking away the Elements prepared
“ for the Holy Communion, even when
“ the piously dispos'd were ready to
“ receive — taking Clerks that were
“ Celebrating the Holy Offices, and
“ turning them by Violence out of the
“ Church, ONLY because they wore
“ Surplices.” We find that Dr. Turner,

DEAN of Wells, enjoin'd a common Adul-

terer to do his open Penance in a square
Cap, which was Part of the Habit the

Law had appointed for the Clergy.

This Dr. Turner was a Man of great
Distinction among the Puritans. In the
Year 1570 we find a Godly and zealous
Letter, as it is call'd, written by a
noted Person, Mr. Anthony Gilby, which
is thus address'd; “ To my Reverend
“ Fathers and Brethren in Christ, Mr.
“ Coverdale, Mr. Turner, Mr. Whit-
“ ington, Mr. Sampson, Mr. Doctor

“ Hum

“ Humphrey, Mr. Lever, Mr. Crowley,
“ and others, that labour to root
“ out the Weeds of Popery.” This
Mr. Crowley, Minister of the Parish of
St. Giles’s, Cripplegate, and his Curate,
gave great Occasion of much Trouble
in his Church, by quarrelling with di-
vers Clerks who came to a Funeral
in their Surplices, and making a Tu-
mult thereupon. “ So gentle was our Mr. Strype’s
Life of Parker
p. 218.
“ Archbishop [Dr. Parker] in his Cen-

“ sure of so great a Fault as Quarrel-
“ ling (and, it may be, coming to
“ Strokes) in God’s House, Crowley
“ was charged to keep his House,
“ and remain under Confinement at
“ home.”

Many of these Gentlemen of the *stricter Sort* had assumed to themselves the Title of *English Preachers* and *Doctors*, which they affected from *Eph. 4. and 11.* At the same Time they Ibid. 154. had a *Variety* of very *abusive* Names for the *conforming Clergy*. The History of the Puritans furnishes some of them, *Papists in Disguise, idle Drones, dumb Dogs, Popelings, Massing Priests, pet-ty Antichrists, &c.* In short, these *English Doctors*, as we find in Mr. *Strype*, “ proceeded so far that he was Ibid. thought unworthy of the Title, who had not some singular Opinion to in-

“ flame the Multitude withal *against*
“ those who lived under *Order* and
“ *Obedience.*” The same candid Hi-
storian informs us, “ That had it not
“ been for the great *Disturbances* in
“ the *Church*, occasioned by these *Va-*
“ *rieties*, and the common Omission of
“ what was prescribed by the Queen’s
“ Injunctions, and for the *rude* and *in-*
“ *solent* Behaviour of some who refused
“ the *Habits*, towards *those* that *quiet-*
“ *ly* used them, and conformed them-
“ selves to Orders, probably the urging
“ of them so strictly *afterwards*, would
“ not have been. And had the scrup-
“ ling Brethren *peaceably* and *silently*
“ used their *Liberty*, in the Omission
“ of some few Things, which their
“ Consciences scrupled, it might not
“ have been with such Rigour after-
“ wards restrain’d; for hitherto (1564)
“ as far as I find, they were *indulged*
“ and *connived at* by the *Bishops*,
“ &c.— These Practices, therefore,
“ being so contrary to the Queen’s In-
“ junctions, set out in the Year 1559,
“ and begetting so much *Dissention*,
“ *Difference*, and *Disorder*, among
“ Christians of the same Profession, re-
“ dounding so much to the *Disparage-*
“ *ment* of the reform’d Religion among
“ the *Enemies* thereof; the Queen
“ directed

" directed her Letter this Year to the
 " Archbishop, &c." The Queen re-
 ceived *repeated* Information of the
Disorders, that were occasioned by
 those who would not comply with the
 establish'd Rules, *before* she directed
 this Letter to the Archbishop to redress
 these Disorders. It may not be im-
 proper to transcribe Part of this Letter,
 bearing Date *January 25. 1564*, which
 will be a farther Proof of the *Distur-
 bances* raised at this Time, and confirm
 Mr. *Strype's* Account, how this Liber-
 ty they took was restrained. " We *Ibid. 154.*

" have now, (says her Majesty) a *good*
 " while heard, to our Grief, sundry Re-
 ports hereof, hoping that all cannot
 " be true, but rather mistrusting that
 " the Adversaries of Truth, might of
 " their evil Disposition encrease the
 " Reports of the same; yet we thought
 " until this present, that by the Re-
 gard, which *you*, being the *Primate*
 " and Metropolitan, would have had
 " hereto, according to your Office, with
 " the Assistance of the Bishops your
 Brethren, in their several Diocesses
 " (*having also received of us heretofore*
 " *Charge for the same Purpose*) these
 " Errors tending to breed some Schism
 " or Deformity in the Church, should
 " have been stay'd and appeased; but

“ perceiving very lately, and also cer-
“ tainly, that the same doth rather
“ begin to *encrease*, than to stay or di-
“ minish ; we considering the Autho-
“ rity given to us of Almighty God,
“ for Defence of the *publick Peace*,
“ Concord and Truth of this his Church,
“ and how we are answerable for the
“ same to the Seat of his high Justice,
“ mean not to endure or suffer any
“ longer these Evils, thus to proceed,
“ spread and encrease in our Realm,
“ but have certainly determin'd to have
“ all *such Diversities, Varieties and*
“ *Novelties*, amongst them of the Cler-
“ gy and our People, *as breed nothing*
“ *but Contention, Offence, and Breach*
“ *of common Charity* ; and are also
“ *against the Laws, good Usages and*
“ *Ordinances of our Realm to be re-*
“ *form'd, repress'd, and brought to one*
“ *Manner of Uniformity thro' our*
“ *whole Realm and Dominions, that*
“ *our People may thereby quietly ho-*
“ *nour and serve Almighty God, in*
“ *Truth, Concord, Peace and Quiet-*
“ *ness, and thereby also avoid the*
“ *Slanders that are spread abroad*
“ *hereupon in foreign Countries.*” In
the *Advertisements* likewise, published
in Consequence of this Royal Mandate,
the *Archbishop and Bishops* proceed
upon

upon the *same* Reason, the *Contention* and Breach of common Charity that had been *occasioned* by those that refused to obey the Laws. The Queen's own *Letter* is a sufficient *Proof*, that great Favour and Indulgence was shewn to these People, by the Archbishop (Doctor Parker) and *Bishops*, "whereby (as Mr. Strype observes) may be perceived, that this was the second Time the Queen had called upon the Bishops to restrain these Differences, and that neither our Archbishop, nor the Rest of his *Brethren*, were ever forward to prosecute those that did vary from the appointed Rites and Ceremonies; but had, for Peace Sake, wink'd a little at the Non-observance of them." For she in the said Letter blames the Archbishop and Bishops, "for their Lack of REGARD that should have been given hereto, and their Sufferance of sundry Varieties and Novelties.

Mr. N. has represented *Archbishop Parker* as at the Head of all the sufferings of the Nonconformists, which he push'd forward with unrelenting Vigour; a severe Churchman, a bitter Enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the Length of his Power, and beyond the Limits of the Law."

N's Hist. 218. and 341.

" Law." In short, his Character is drawn almost as black as Queen Elizabeth's, " who, 'tis said, being of Opinion, that all Methods of Severity were lawful to bring her Subjects to an outward Uniformity, countenanced all the Engines of Persecution— and stretch'd her Prerogative to support them beyond the Laws, against the Sense of the Nation." It may not be improper to mention a Letter of the Archbishop's in favour of Mr. Sampson, a very noted Puritan; in this we shall see the Maxims upon which his Grace proceeded, That he thought reasonable and quiet Men, who acted from a Principle of Conscience, ought to have some Favour shew'd them, even though this Indulgence were abused by others, less rational and more troublesome. " Which Favour shew'd, if it should be abused by the Wilfulness of some fond Heads, yet God's Cause in reasonable Men may be pitied." The Archbishop had obtain'd some Favour for Mr. Sampson at Christ-Church, where he had been Dean, upon which he made a second Request by the following Letter.

" Reverendissime S. My humble Thanks to your Grace premis'd. By these Letters inclosed your favourable recom-

" recommending of my Case to the
 " Chapter of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, is
 " well witness'd to have had with them
 " just Regard. And now, as my Ne-
 " cessity compelleth me to crave further
 " Aid, so your *Facility* to grant my
 " last, encourageth me to make this
 " second Request for the same, &c.

" The gentle and good Nature of the
 " Archbishop was such, that he pre-
 " sently wrote to the *Secretary*, the
 " very next Day after he receiv-
 " ed Sampson's Letter, recommending
 " Sampson's Case most heartily, and
 " praying the Secretary to use his In-
 " terest with the Queen, and that up-
 " on the Account of her Clemency,
 " which she was wont to shew indiffe-
 " rently to all her Subjects; which
 " Letter being so expressive of the mild
 " and Christian Spirit of this grave Fa-
 " ther, even to such as did not alto-
 " gether agree with him in all Points,
 " I do here set down as a Testimony
 " hereof.

After my hearty Commendation to
 your Honour, where I understand
 that Mr. Sampson lieth still at Suit for
 his favourable placing out at his own Li-
 berty, without Note of committing him
 as a Prisoner to any Place, Your Ho-
 nour

nour should do a right good Deed, in mine Opinion, to be Suitor to the Queen's Highness for Favour therein. Her Pleasure being thus executed upon him, for Example to the Terror of others, might yet be mollified to the Commendation of her Clemency, whereunto her Highness is inclined both Godly and Naturally to all Persons indifferently. And as Your Honour is the common Refuge, to be a Sollicitor to the Queen's Majesty in our Causes, so Ye shall do a good Act to continue herein, which Favour shewed, if it should be abused by the Wilfulnes of some fond Heads, yet God's Cause in reasonable Men may be pitied ; and thus with the Offer of my Prayer and most humble Recommendation to the Queen's Highness. I take my Leave of Your Honour. From my House at Canterbury this 4th of June 1565.

Notwithstanding the Queen's Letter and some Proceedings thereupon, yet
 " she and her Commissioners did dis-
 " pense or wink at many Divines who
 " could not comply, and yet had,
 " and retained still Dignities in the
 " Church. There is a Letter of Fa-
 " ther Fox the Martyrologist, writ in
 " Latin to the Queen about this time,
 " wherein he exalted her in his Praises,
 " as

“ as for restoring Learning and Religion,
 “ on, so particularly for her Regard
 “ and gracious Answer to a Petition of
 “ certain Divines concerning the Hab-
 “ bits.” Mr. Strype gives a further
 Confirmation of this. “ As for the *Life of Parker*
 “ peaceable Nonconformists, and parti- ^{p. 243.}
 “ cularly *Sampson and Lever*, to whom ^{Ann. 1567.}
 “ I might add *Coverdale, Fox, and*
 “ *Humphrey*, and some more, as *Wi-*
 “ *burn, Johnson, and Penny*, they were
 “ dealt gently with, and had, if not
 “ Licence, yet Connivance to preach
 “ in publick, and hold Preferments.

Admonitions and Suspensions preceeded ^{Vid. Strype's}
 Deprivations; and if those who had ^{Parker, p. 178.}
 not observed the Laws would afterwards promise Conformity, they were
 continued in their Preferments.

But still farther, in the Year 1572,
 we find an Account of the great
 Favour and Indulgence shew'd them:

“ That they were as gently intreated ^{Strype's Life}
 “ as might be, no kind of Brotherly ^{of Whitgift.}
 “ Persuasion omitted towards them,
 “ most of them *as yet*, [eight Years
 “ after the Queen's Letter] kept their
 “ Livings, tho' *one or two* were displa-
 “ ced. They were offer'd, as he ad-
 “ ded, all kind of Friendliness, if they
 “ could be contented to conform them-
 “ selves; yea, *but to be quiet, and*
 “ *hold*

" hold their *Peace*; but that they, on
 " the contrary Side, most *unchristianly*
 " and most *unbrotherly*, both *publickly*
 " and *privately rail'd* on those that
 " shew'd these *Humanities* towards
 " them: *Slandered them* by all means
 " they could, and most *untruly reported*
 " of them, seeking by all Means their
 " *Discredit.*" Beyond this, in the Year
 1573, even after the *Admonitions* had
 been published to the Parliament and
 Nation, we find a *Proclamation* issued
 by the Queen, from which it *plainly ap-*

Strype's Parker
p. 446.

" *pears*, that the *Bishops* were far
 from being forward to prosecute the
 Nonconformists, and that even to *this*
 time they continued to commit great
 Disorders. " The Queen's Proclama-
 " on declared, that she was right for-
 " ry to understand, that the Order of
 " Common-Prayer set forth by the com-
 " mon Consent of the Realm, and by
 " the Authority of the Parliament, in
 " the first Year of her Reign, wherein
 " was nothing contain'd but the Scrip-
 " ture of God, and that which was
 " consonant unto it, was, now of late,
 " of some Men despised and spoke
 " against, both by *open Preachings*
 " and Writings; and of some *bold* and
 " *vain-curious* Men, new and *other Rites*
 " found out and frequented, whereupon

" Con-

" Contentions, Sects, and Disquietness
 " did arise among her People, and for
 " one Godly and Uniform Order, Di-
 versity of Rites and Ceremonies,
 " Disputations and Contentions, Schisms
 and Divisions were already risen, and
 " more like to ensue; the Cause of
 " which Disorders her Majesty did
 " plainly understand to be the NEGLI-
 GENCE of the BISHOPS and other Ma-
 gistrates, who should cause the good
 " Laws and Acts of Parliament made
 " in this behalf to be better executed,
 " and not so dissembled and wink'd at
 " as HITHERTO it might appear that
 " they had been." After this we have
 a very important and strong Testimony
 of the same Nature, in a Letter from
 the Lords of the Council to the BISHOPS,
 (blaming them for not prosecuting the
 Puritans) who, as Mr. Strype observes,
 were not forward to take Punishment
 upon these Defaulters, however they
 were by them required with much Re-
 proach and Hatred. It gives great
 Weight to this remarkable Proof of the
 great Mildness and Favour shew'd by the
 Bishops to the Puritans, that this Let-
 ter was sign'd by the Lord Burleigh,
 Lord Leicester, and Sir Francis Knol-
 lys. The two last especially were re-
 markably attached to the Puritans,
 and

and justly esteemed the *Head* of their *Party*; nothing but the most *undeniable Evidence* could have extorted such a *Declaration* from *them*; which at once proves the *turbulent Spirit* of the *Puritans*, and the *mild Conduct* of the *Bishops*. They write as follows.

*Strype's Life
of Parker,
p. 454.*

" After our hearty Commendation to
 " your Lordship. By her Majesty's Pro-
 " clamation, dated Oct. 20, it appears
 " how careful the Queen's Majesty is,
 " that the Order set forth in the Book of
 " Common-Prayer, allowed by Parlia-
 " ment in the first Year of her Maje-
 " sty's Reign, should be severely and
 " uniformly kept throughout all this
 " Realm; and that *the Fault*, why
 " *such Diversities* have of late been
 " taken up in *many Churches*, and
 " thereupon *Contentions* and *unseemly*
 " *Disputations* risen, in her Highness's
 " Opinion, is *MOST IN YOU*, to whom
 " the special Care of Ecclesiastical
 " Matters doth appertain, and who
 " have your Visitations Episcopal, Ar-
 " chidiaconal, and your Synods, and
 " such other Meeting of the Clergy,
 " first and chiefly ordain'd for that Pur-
 " pose, to keep all Churches in your
 " Diocese in one uniform and godly
 " Order — Nothing is required, but
 " that *Godly and seemly Orders*, al-
 " low'd

" low'd by the Queen's Majesty and
 " whole Realm be kept, the which
 " except you did wink at and dissemble,
 " there needed not these new Procla-
 " mations and strait calling upon." How
 much they thought the Bishops inclined
 to shew an excessive Indulgence to the
 Puritans, appears by those strong Words
 which conclude their Letter. " Where-
 fore, if now you would take, for your
 Part, Care and Heed, and so the
 rest of your Fellow-Bishops, the Quiet
 of the Realm might soon be purcha-
 sed, in our Mind, touching any such
 Matters, which should be great Plea-
 sure to her Majesty, and Comfort
 unto us. The neglecting whereof,
 how grievous it will be to her High-
 ness, and what Danger may be to
 you, her Highness hath express'd in
 the said Proclamation. Thus pray-
 ing you to consider these things, and
 withal speedily to put Order in them,
 and from time to time to certify us
 what you have done herein, to the
 fulfilling of her Majesty's Desire, we
 bid you most heartily farewell. From
 Greenwich the 7th of Novem. 1573.

Some time after this, the Lord Tre-
 surer Burleigh made a Speech of the
 like Import in the Star-Chamber, where-
 in he complains of " a Number of Ibid. 456.
 N" " Per-

" Persons young in Years, but over
" young in Soundness of Learning and
" Discretion, who, according to their
" own Imaginations and Conceits, and
" not according to the publick Order
" established by Law, have not only
" in the common Services of the Church,
" and in the Administration of the Sa-
" craments, made sundry Alterations;
" but also, by their Example and
" Teaching, have inticed their Parochi-
" ans, and their Auditories, being her
" Majesty's Subjects, to conceive erro-
" neous Opinions; in condemning the
" whole Government of the Church,
" and Order Ecclesiastical; and in mov-
" ing her Majesty's good Subjects to
" think it a Burthen of Conscience to
" observe the Orders and Rites of the
" Church, established by Law; a Mat-
" ter pernicious to the State of Govern-
" ment." 'Tis needless to detain the
Reader any longer upon this Head.
What has been already said, from the
most unexceptionable Authorities, will
be sufficient at once to shew the *unquiet*
Behaviour of the *Puritans*, and the
great *Patience* and *Clemency* of the
Bishops and *Government* towards them.
As for the last Particular, Mr. N's own
Acknowledgment, that *two and twenty*
Years after the *Queen's Letter* and the
Adver-

Advertisements were published, above Five Hundred Puritans were left *Beneficed* in the Church, and among them the most active and zealous of the Party, is sufficient Evidence of the great Lenity and Indulgence they met with from their Superiors.

The Reader will please to recollect, that Queen *Elizabeth* fix'd upon the most effectual Method to introduce and establish the Reform'd Religion in her Dominions; that she shew'd great Clemency and Indulgence to those who did not observe the Laws, good Usages, and Ordinances of the Realm, and suffer'd great Numbers of them to enjoy Preferments in the Church, notwithstanding their Non-Compliance. That the Disturbance and Tumults rais'd in the Kingdom occasion'd her requiring a stricter Observance of the Law. If any were suspended for a Time, or totally deprived of their Preferments, 'twas for want of Compliance with the Conditions upon which those Preferments were granted; nor did they suffer thus much, till the *Disorders* rais'd by their Means in the Nation made it necessary thus to inquire into their Conduct, and proceed as the Safety of the Publick required. This was no more than a necessary Means to pre-

serve a wise and proper Establishment, to prevent the utmost Confusion, and, in all Probability, the entire Ruin of the Protestant Religion. And, after all, tho' the Provocations ran very high on one Side, yet great Favour and Indulgence was shew'd by the other.

C H A P. IV.

BUT, there is another Scene disagreeable enough, which Mr. N's heavy and repeated Complaints makes it necessary to open. This is such Proceedings of *Subjects* against their *Sovereign*; of *Protestants* against a *Princess*, who was, under God, the *Support* of the *Protestant Cause*; such Attempts upon the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, and the *Property* of *private Persons*; such *Insults* upon the *Queen* herself; and such *violent Endeavours* to *destroy* the *Constitution*, not only in the *Church*, but also in the *State*. In short, such *abusive, factious* and *dangerous* Proceedings, as gave Occasion to severer Methods; and was the *Reason* of *inflicting* upon *some* of them, what they *desired* might be *inflicted* upon *meer Dissenters* from their Platform, *sharp Punishments*.

Before

Before we come particularly to consider this provoking Behaviour, so offensive to their Superiors, and so hurtful to some of themselves, it may not be improper to take Notice of the *Persons* by whom it was in a great Measure *promoted* and *encouraged*: And here we find them under the Influence of *two* Sorts of Men, the one *Papists*, who always find their Account in the dividing of Protestants; the other, some *avaritious great Men*, who desired a farther Confiscation of *Church Lands*, in hopes to share the Plunder. *Bishop Pilkington*, who was always, according to Mr. N's Account, a very great ^{N's Hist.} Friend and Favourer of the Non-conformists, complains, "That the Dis-^{Ibid. p. 193.}" puts which began about the Vestments were now carried farther, even to the whole *Constitution*; that pious Persons lamented this, Atheists laugh'd, and the *PAPISTS* blew the Coals; and that the Blame of all was cast upon the *Bishops*." There was too much Ground for this Complaint against the Papists. "Pope *Pius V.* ^{Strype's Ann.} in the first Year of his Pontiff, set ^{Vol. I.} forth a Bull to anathematize and ^{p. 520.} confound the Hereticks, and sow *Discord* among them; wherein, among other things, he willed and

“ authoriz’d the wise and learned of his
“ Ecclesiasticks to labour, endeavour,
“ and contrive all manner of Devices,
“ to abate, assuage and *confound* these
“ Hereticks. That thereby the Here-
“ ticks might either be reclaim’d to
“ confess their Errors, and acknow-
“ ledge the Jurisdiction of the See of
“ Rome, or that a total *Infamy* be
“ brought upon them and their Poste-
“ rities, by a *perpetual Discord* and
“ Contention among themselves: By
“ which means they might either spee-
“ dily perish by God’s Wrath, or conti-
“ nue in *eternal Difference* — Father
“ Freke, a Jesuit of great Authority
“ in Paris, thus explained this Bull—
“ That it dispensed with the Devisers
“ for devising of new *Tenets, Doctrines*
“ and *Covenants*. Mr. Strype, in the
same Place gives a long Account of the
Methods they used to sow *Divisions* in
the Church. The better to carry on
their Design, they were *allow’d* to
marry; and if they were examin’d how
they came by the Ability to preach and
expound, they were directed to reply,
by the Spirit of God; by *Revelation*, by
searching the Scripture. The Pope, for
many Years, privately employ’d a Nuncio
Ridolpho here, under the Character of
an *Italian Factor*. “ His Business was
“ to

" to excite the Papists in *England*
 " against the Queen, which he did ef-
 fectually ; and prevail'd also upon
 " some *Protestants* to do the like ;
 " some out of private Hatred and Dis-
 affectednes, and OTHERS affecting
 " Innovation." And what plainly shews
 the *Papists* had a great Hand in these
 Disturbances and Contentions is, that
 we always find they rose highest, when
 the *Nation* was to be attack'd from
 abroad, that it might at such a Jun-
 ture be weaken'd by violent *Divisions*
 at home. This Mr. Cambden justly ob-
 serves in his Annals of Q. Elizabeth. A
 farther Confirmation of this Matter we
 have from no less Man than Sir W. Cecil.
 " Upon these domestick Broils among Strype's Life
 " Protestants, the *Papists* under Dis- of Parker,
 " guise, fell foul upon the English Litur- p. 244.
 " gy, and combin'd with the *Puritans*,
 " in defacing the common Service used
 " in our Churches. Sir W. Cecil, the
 " wise Secretary of State, kept a Me-
 " morial Book or Journal, wherein
 " he writ Matters that occur'd, whence
 " these Words were extracted. In these
 Days, Men began to speak against the
 Reformed Prayers, established first by
 King Edward VI. and his Parliament ;
 and since by her Majesty and her Par-
 liament. Upon which account, Divers
 Papists

1567.

Papists disguisedly spoke as BITTERLY against the Reformed Prayers of the Church, as those then called Puritans did. After this follows a long and particular Account of *Faithful Cummin*, a *Dominican Fryar*, who appear'd in the Shape of a most zealous Puritan, endeavour'd for a purer Church, preach'd against *set Forms* of Prayer, and call'd the *English Prayer English Mass*, and made the *Church of England* as odious to the People whom he instructed, as *Mass* was to the *Church of England*. Being discovered, he privately withdrew, and the Pope rewarded him with 2000 Ducats.

Life of Whitgift, p. 36.

In Mr. *Strype*, we have an Account of the Principles upon which both Parties proceeded against the Church, which, for the greater Exactness, are here taken from the Author he quotes.

" These *Admonitioners* flatly join'd " with the *Papists*, and with the self " same Assertions bended their Force " against this *Church of England*. For " first, the Papists affirm we are not the " true Church; no, that we had not " so much as the outward Face and " Shew of a true Church. And so did " these Men, almost in flat and plain " Terms. Secondly, The Papists say, " that we had no Ministry, no Bishops, " no

“ no Pastors, because they be not right-
“ ly and canonically call'd to these
“ Functions. The self same do these
“ Men affirm. Thirdly, the Papists
“ say, That our Sacraments were not
“ rightly administer'd, and so say they
“ likewise. Fourthly, The Papists
“ wholly condemned our Book of Com-
“ mon-Prayers set out by publick Au-
“ thority, and the whole Order of our
“ Service. In that Point these Men do
“ fully join with them also; for they
“ condemn'd it wholly, and that with
“ most Bitterness. Fifthly, The Pa-
“ pists would not have the Scriptures
“ read in the Church to the People ;
“ no more would they: For they say,
“ *Reading is not Feeding*, but as evil
“ as playing upon a Stage, and worse
“ too. Sixthly, The Papists deny the
“ Civil Magistrate to have any Autho-
“ rity in *Ecclesiastical Matters*; and so
“ do they. Seventhly, To be short,
“ The Papists refuse to come to our
“ Church, to COMMUNICATE with us
“ in the LORD's SUPPER; and these
“ Men would not have them by Laws
“ and Punishments compell'd thereun-
“ to. Hereby it is manifest, that the
“ Papists and they jointly seek to shake,
“ nay, to overthrow the self same
“ Foundations, Grounds, and Pillars
“ of

" of our Church, altho' not by the self
" same Instruments and Engines.

But besides the Endeavours from the Popish Quarter, to enflame the Populace, and spirit up the Puritans to make such a Division as might ruin the Protestant Interest, and restore the alienated Lands to the Church, there were others who acted from a different View, in hopes to find their Account in the Ruin of Bishops and Cathedral Churches. For as Mr. Strype observes, " it abundantly appears, that the grand Design of these Admonitions, was to undermine and overthrow (if not the Reformation it self, yet) that great Part of it, *viz.* the Ecclesiastical Government by the Bishops; and thereby perhaps (*many self-designing Men, joining with those new Reformers*) they had their Eyes upon the Revenues of the Church, rather than acted by a Zeal of setting up a new Order of Church Governors."

The great *Earl of Leicester*, as Mr. N. calls him, seems to be the chief of this Number. " Indeed (says Mr. Fuller)

Fuller's Ch.
Hist. Lib. 9.
p. 130.

" Leicester cast a covetous Eye upon Lambeth House, alledging as good Arguments for his obtaining thereof, as ever were urged by Ahab for Na-

" both's Vineyard." With this View,

he

he became the great Patron and Support of those, who said, *Archbishops* and *Bishops* were not to be tolerated in a Christian Country. Those who were required to use the lawful Habit said, that my Lord of Leicester should move and obtain the Queen, and that requiring the wearing of them was done in his Absence. That Mr. Cole, probably Leicester's Chaplain, or belonging to some other great Courtier, was then at Court, in his Hat and Short Cloak, who would overthrow all the Attempts of the High Commission, to enjoin the using of the Apparel. In like Manner, Mr. Strype tells us, Sampson ^{Ibid. 165.} and Humphreys were animated to stand it out; and not consent so much as to put on the square Cap now and then in the publick Meetings of the University, tho' the pious and moderate Bishop Grindal, one of the High Commission, with Tears entreated it of them — but they had great Interest at Court — the Earl of Leicester was their private Friend. Such Support inspired many of them with so much Courage, that they were very sanguine they should carry the Point. This drew them into great Inconveniences; for having been exceeding warm, they naturally thought it would be no small Disgrace

Disgrace to confute themselves. This made it difficult for them to *comply* with those Laws, which they had, without Cause, loaded with opprobrious Names. The Instigation of the Papists, and the Encouragement they received from others, drew them into such Lengths, that it was not very practicable to retreat.

Let us now proceed to consider what the *Behaviour* of the Puritans was under the Influence already mention'd. But that there may be no Mistake, Mr. N. is desir'd particularly to observe, that the Dispute with him, under *this Head*, is not upon *Principles*, but upon *Facts*. 'Tis not, whether *Persecution* for Conscience Sake be a grievous Sin, highly injurious to our Fellow Creatures, inconsistent with the Christian Institution, and greatly offensive to Almighty God. This is *no Part* of the Dispute. It was not therefore very candid in this Gentleman to represent the Clergy of the Church of *England* as the Patrons of Persecution; nor had he any Ground to declare so roundly as he does, that *one Article* of Controversy between the Dissenters and the Establish'd Church at *this Day* is, "The natural Right that every Man has to judge for himself, and make Pro-

"Profession of that Religion he apprehends most agreeable to Truth, as far as it does not affect the Peace and Safety of the Government he lives under; without being determin'd by the Prejudice of Education, the Laws of the Civil Magistrate, or the Decrees of Councils, Churches, or Synods." 'Tis supposed, this Gentleman is willing to grant, that the Church of England, is justly intitled to all those Privileges which are requisite to support an Establishment; that under the Pretence of contending for Liberty, he does not intend clandestinely, by Degrees, to subvert that Part of the Constitution which has been the great Bulwark of the Protestant Religion. If he means, that the Establishment should be supported and preserved, and at the same Time a Toleration granted to those who are of different Sentiments from it, there is no Dispute between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters: Nor had Mr. N. the least Occasion to cast an Odium upon the Establish'd Church, by starting any Difference upon this Point. 'Tis impossible to answer for every particular Person, either on one Side or the other; but if he takes the general Sense of the Church of England, he will find this to be

be the Case. As to Queen *Elizabeth* in particular, who is so much concerned in the Transactions under Debate, we have a Testimony already mentioned, whereby it appears, that one Principle upon which she grounded her Proceedings, was, that *Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by Force of Truth.* The Question therefore between us is ; whether the *Conduct* of those Puritans, who were imprison'd, or otherwise punished, did not affect the *Peace and Safety of the Government they lived under?* If it did, this, upon Mr. N's own Principles, ceases to be a *religious Matter*, and becoming a *State Crime*, is of Course punishable as such.

It ought to be remark'd that Mr. N's Account of their Sufferings, and Behaviour that occasioned these Sufferings, is chiefly taken from themselves : He has obtain'd, as he acquaints us in his Preface, a *Copy of a large MS. Collection of Papers*, the Originals whereof are said to be lodged in the University of *Cambridge*, but he names no particular Library or College ; nor does he acquaint us when the Papers themselves were wrote, by whom or who was the Collector of them. In short, his Account of this MS. Collection

lection of Papers, upon which he lays so great Stress, is the most unsatisfactory and unscholar-like that can be imagined. This Gentleman says, Page 201. If we may believe Doctor *Whitgift*, &c. and yet gives entire Credit to this anonymous Manuscript, which ought to have been supported by some unquestionable Authority, since, by his own Account, it brings many Things to Light, hitherto *unknown to* the World. This he quotes upon all Occasions as substantial Evidence, tho' it plainly appears to be a very angry and partial Account. A Manuscript is not to be credited meerly for being such ; and this in particular may be convicted of great Mistakes. Instead of Extracts from the *Council-Books*, Examinations, and *Depositions* of Witnesses before the Star-Chamber, High Commission, and publick Courts, or other authentick Evidence, we are furnished with *Petitions*, *Representations*, *Complaints*, &c. chiefly from this Manuscript, *made out of Court*, after the Examinations and Tryals were over, and drawn up with a Design to influence Persons, *who did not hear the whole Cause*. Great Abatements must be made when such Papers as these, especially at this *Distance of Time*, are brought in Evidence against the

the publick Justice of the Nation. In the present Instance, to suppose these true, you must suppose not only very able and celebrated *Privy-Counsellors*, *Bishops* who had been *Exiles* or Sufferers for Religion, Judges, and other Magistrates extreamly wicked and cruel; but in many Cases, *Juries* of Gentlemen guilty of *manifest Perjury*, and in an Instance or two, of *wilful Murder*. This is very hard upon all their Memories, when the Proof against them is—the *Petition* or Representation of the Offender after he is convicted; or an *Account* of his *Trial*, drawn up by himself, and these published from an unknown MS. 150 Years after the Things happened. However, to state this Matter more fully, let us see what Evidence there is of that *peaceable* and *submissive* Behaviour Mr. N. ascribes to the Puritans. And in the first Place let us see how they treated the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, as well as the other *publick Officers*. 'Tis an Observation of the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, in a Speech to the Parliament. “ This one Thing “ may be holden firm by the Rules of “ good Government, that *all Officers* “ both Spiritual and Temporal that “ have Government, during the Time “ of their Offices, ought to be pre- “ served

N's Hist.
p. 599.

Dr. Ewes's
Journal,
p. 192.
An. 1572.

" served in *Credit and Estimation* ;
 " for how can any Thing be well set
 " forth by them that want Credit."

What he immediately adds is a Proof
 he was not prejudiced or partial in the
 Cause. " Marry, for my Part, let the
 " Time of their Offices last as their
 " Doings do deserve." 'Twas however
 an *Engagement* enter'd into by joint
 Consent among the *Puritans*, to de-^{Strype's Life}
 prave the present, and advance their ^{of Whitgift.}
 own devis'd Form of Church Govern-^{p. 332.}
 ment. 'Tis an old Maxim thus to
 blacken those that are design'd for
 Ruin ; first to *defame*, and then to
 destroy. " Some who had a profound
 " Veneration for the *Geneva Platform*
 " of Church Discipline, imagin'd there
 " was no surer or nearer Way for erect-
 " ing it in *England*, than by loudly
 " railing against the *English Forms* and
 " Rites, and rendering the Names of
 " Bishop and Prelate as odious as they
 " could to the common People. Their
 " first Essay, therefore, was to put out
 " scurrilous Pamphlets against Church
 " Order and Prelacy." In consequence
 of this Design, to *deprave the present*,
 and *advance their own Form*, higher
 Titles or finer Encomiums could not be
 given, than those they bestowed upon
 this *GENEVA SCHEME*; 'tis no Reflection

to call it by *that Name*, for they always consider'd the Church there as the most perfect *Model*, and appeal'd to it as such. The Platform brought from

Regist. p. 68. thence was in their Account "the *ve-*
Motion from " *nerable Doctrine* of Discipline, the
Scotland, 84. " *most beautiful Order* of Ecclesiastical
Practice of Prelates 301. " *Regiment*; the *substantial Form* of
Register 32. " *Christ's Government*; the *most holy*
" *Discipline*; the *true Discipline* by
" *God's Word, without which no true*
" *Religion can be*; the *only Bond of*
" *Peace*; the *Punisher of Sin*; *Main-*
" *tainer of Righteousness*, and the
" *Bane of Heresy*: In short, 'tis *pure*,
" *perfect*, and *full of all Goodness.*"

Nor are the Patrons of this Discipline less wonderful than the Scheme they espouse. We hear of none but *pious*,

Vid. N's Hist. learned, worthy, painful, faithful, eminent,
passim. godly Men, who engaged on that Side;

2 Admon.

Ibid.

who, as they testify of themselves, strove for *true Religion* and *Government* of the Church. Nay they go further and assert, there is *nothing* in our Books that should offend any that either be, or should seem to be, *Godly*. — As to the *Establish'd Church*, 'tis difficult to find Expressions *equally abusive*, but absolutely *impossible* to use any Words *more virulent*, than what were *continually employ'd* against the *Bishops*

Bishops and Clergy. Jesuits, Turks, Heathens could not be loaded with more opprobrious Names. 'Tis endles to transcribe the Volumes of Abuses, or to repeat the many Instances, where the Clergy, *meerly* for obeying Laws, made for the establishing of the Protestant Religion, are called "petty Popes, Popelings, Papists, Popish Priests," Antichrists, petty Antichrists, dumb Dogs, idle Drones, Fryars and Monks were not so bad ; all of them in an unlawful Calling, and no better than a Brood of petty Antichrists. Bishops are contented to be *Bawds* to all kind of Sinners — If in King Henry's Days idle, loiterous and hypocritical Fryars and Monks (for all their great Authority, and undeserved Estimation they were in) were in the Spite of the Pope put down ; why should you think it an impossible Matter in QUEEN Elizabeth's Days to make a Search amongst those who are their Successors, and to saw off some of your Branches that make you all to be as evil, if not worse, than a great Sort of your Predecessors were, that is, idle Overseers, slow preaching Pastors, vain-glorious Prelates, Refusers of Reformation, and maliciously and wilfully blind O 2 " Bishops."

Part of a Re-
gister, *passim.*
Adm. 1st 2d

Dialogue be-
tween a Sol-
dier at Barwick
and an English
Chaplain.

State of the
Church of
England laid
open.

Part of a Re-
gister, p. 377.

" Bishops." This comes in to illustrate
 " an Assertion, " Our Prelates are
 " unprofitable Branches to be cut off." It was publish'd so early in Queen Elizabeth's Reign as the Year 1567, and is preserved in that admired Collection called Part of a Register ; where it is said to be wrote by a Godly, Learned and Zealous Gentleman.

The Preface to the famous *Admonition*, which has been already mention'd, declares, that " those Inconveniences which Men seem not to think upon, without Reformation, cannot but encrease further Dissention ; the ONE Part being proud, Pontifical and Tyrannous ; and the Word of God for the other Part express and manifest. —either must we have a right Ministry of God, and a right Government of the Church, according to the Scriptures set up, both which we lack, or else there can be no right Religion ; nor yet for Contempt thereof can God's Plagues be from us any while deferr'd." In like manner, in the same Place, they call the Establish'd Government of the Church, a Tyrannous Lordship, that cannot stand with Christ's Kingdom. The same Spirit prevails thro' the whole of those Performances. Elsewhere they talk in this

this manner, "I know it for a Truth, Part of a Reg.
 " that the Archbishop begat you, and^{p. 367.}
 " the Bishop of Rome begat him,
 " and the Devil begat him: I mean,
 " concerning your Offices, so now, in
 " respect of your Offices, you see who
 " is your Grandsire, and who is your
 " Great Grandsire—Do you think
 " that this Plea, I did but execute the
 " Law, will excuse you before the
 " High Judge, where you, except you
 " repent with a deep Repentance, shall^{Ibid. 368.}
 " stand and tremble like a Thief in the
 " Jail, and gnash your Teeth —
 " I am assured in the Lord, that you
 " and all the Archbishop's Adherents
 " be Rebels and Traitors unto God." Ibid.

In another Place we have a very concise, ^{2. Martin} scurrilous Description of *Archbishops* and *Bishops*; and to give it the greater Credit, 'tis said to be the Sense of the Puritan *Brethren*. "M. D. sheweth,
 " that the Office of Archbishops, and
 " Lord Bishops are in *Nature Pastoral*,
 " tho' in Dignity they are of *another*
 " *Office and Ministry*: And what say
 " you to that Brethren? even this
 " say they. In Dignity they are *Popes*,
 " in *Office proud Prelates*, and in *Mi-*
nistry, plain dumb *Dogs* for the most
 " Part." The Reader shall have one Specimen more, as we find it in Mr. Strype.^{Life of White, gift, p. 298.}

" Our Bishops, and proud, Popish, pre-
 " sumptuous, paltry, pestilent, and per-
 " nicious Prelates, are Usurpers. —
 " They are cogging and cozening
 " Knaves. The Bishops will lye like
 " Dogs, impudent, shameleſs, wainſ-
 " cot-faced Bishops. Your Places are
 " Antichristian. They are Limbs of
 " Antichrift, Simony is their Lacquey.
 " Monſtrous, ungodly Wretches; that,
 " to maintain their own outrageouſ Pro-
 " ceedings, mingle Heaven and Earth
 " together. They ought not to be
 " maintain'd by the Authority of the
 " Magistrate in a Christian Common-
 " Wealth — That our Lord Bishops,
 " as *John of Canterbury*, with the rest
 " of that *Swinish Rabble*, are petty
 " Antichrists, petty Popes, proud Pre-
 " lateſ, Enemies to the Gospel, and
 " moſt covetous wretched Priests, &c.
 " I will tell you, Sir, I am perſuaded
 " in my Conſcience, that the Lord
 " hath given many of our Bishops over
 " into a Reprobaſe Sense. For they
 " do wilfully oppoſe themſelves againſt
 " the Lord his known Truth; yea,
 " and perſecute it. And I ſuppoſe them
 " to be in the State of the *Sin againſt*
 " the *Holy Ghost.*" But the Bishops
 were not the *only* Persons, who were
 treated in this *rude* and *inſolent* Man-
 ner ;

ner ; the Supplication to the high Court
of Parliament speaks thus. " Shall ^{Supplic p 19.}
" you of the high *Court of Parliament*
" be dispensed with, being guilty (ex-
" cept you labour to remove the dumb
" Ministry, Non-Residents, with the
" usurp'd and Antichristian Seats of Lord
" Bish[ops], &c.) of tolerating and ^{exta-}
" blishing greater Sins, &c. — Not ^{Ibid.}
" to be tolerated by your Authority,^{P. 21.}
" unless you think that you may to-
" lerate Sin by your Laws ; nor yet
" once to be spoken for or countenanced,
" unless you would plead for *Baal*."

The very Stile of an *Admonition*, which
is one Part of *Ecclesiastical Censure* and
Punishment, seems very improper from
private Persons to a Parliament, and
they enforced this Censure by telling
the Parliament expressly, you MAY NOT ^{ist Admon.}
do as heretofore you have done, patch
and piece ; nay, rather go backward,
and never labour or contend to Per-
fection — God has by us revealed un-
to you, at this present, the Sincerity
and Simplicity of his *Gospel* ; not that
you should, either wilfully withstand, or
ungraciously tread the same under your
Feet ; for God doth not disclose his *Will*
to any such End : But that you should
yet now at the Length, with all your
Main and Might, endeavour that

Christ, whose easy Yoke and light Burthen we have of long time cast off from us, might rule and reign in his Church.

Strype's Ann.
Vol. IV. p. 176.

There is a Declaration of the same Nature, with respect to the whole Constitution. " As for the general State either of the Magistracy or the Ministry, or of the common People, behold nothing else, but a *Magistracy of Conspirators against God, against his Truth, against the Building of his House, against his Saints and Children; and consequently against the Wealth of their own Souls, and the publick Peace and Tranquillity of the whole Realm.*" The *Council* and *Judges* were treated after the same manner. " Because our *Council* may be truly said to delight in this Injury and violent Oppression of God's Saints and Ministers; therefore whensoever the Lord shall come to search for the Sins of *England* with Lights, as *Zephaniah* faith, he will surely visit our *Council* with a heavy Plague, because undoubtedly they are frozen in their *Dregs*, and persuade their own Hearts, that the Lord will do neither Good nor Evil, in the Defence of his Messengers and Children. And then shall they feel what it is to wink at, much more to " pro-

" procure the Oppression of the Church
 " of Christ—The which *ungodly* and
 " *wicked* Course, as they have held on
 " ever since the Beginning of her Ma-
 " jesty's Reign, so at this Day they
 " have taken greater *Boldness*, and
 " grown more *Rebellious* against the
 " Lord and his Causē, than ever they
 " were." With respect to the *Judges*,
 " It is now grown, and hath been a
 " long time, a common Practice of
 " these *Guiltless* Men, to make Offices,
 " Statutes, ordain'd for the Mainte-
 " nance of Religion, or common Qui-
 " etnes, a Pit wherein to catch the
 " Peaceable of the Land.

But we shall be less surpriz'd at such Usage of inferior Magistrates, when we see how a *Crown'd Head* was treated by those Men whose *only* Weapons are said to be *Prayers* and *Tears*. To N's Hist. lessen the *Affections* of the People, is of p. 595. great Consequence to any *English* Prince, but to Queen *Elizabeth* twas of more than ordinary Importance. To others, the Love of their Subjects was their chief Support, to *her* it was the *only* one. She, as Mr. *Rapin* justly observes, Hist. Q. Eliz. was to draw those Assistancess, which p. 261. she could hope for from no other Hands, from her own Prudence, good Conduct, and *faithful Subjects*. To " have

N's Hist.
p. 255.

2d Admon.

" have the Succour always at Hand,
 " which she foresaw would be wanted,
 " she had but *one Way*, and that was
 " to make her self *beloved* by her
 " *People*." To alienate their Affe~~tions~~
 was to destroy her only Support,
 and to sap the very Foundations of her
 Throne, which had no powerful Neigh-
 bour or foreign Alliance to support it.
 And had she been overthrown, the
 whole Protestant Interest must, in all
 human Probability, have perished with
 her. We shall, however, find those
 whom Mr. N. calls *faithful* and *dutiful*
 Subjects, extreamly rude and severe
 upon the Person and Government of
 the Queen, and earnestly endeavouring
 to subvert the just Rights and Preroga-
 tives of the Crown. The Reader
 knows what great Authority the *Admo-*
nitions to the Parliament are allow'd to
 be of, as composed with general Appro-
 bation, and containing the Sense of the
 whole Party. In one of these there is
 a formal *Impeachment* of the Queen,
 as an *Encourager of all Superstition*,
 deliver'd to the Parliament. The Ac-
 cusation runs thus. " The *Queen's*
 " Chapel, which *should* be a Spectacle
 " of *Christian Reformation*, is rather
 " a Pattern and Precedent to the Peo-
 " ple of *all Superstitions*." The slight
 Foun-

Foundation of this factious Complaint
is a great Aggravation of it. We have
it in the Sentence immediately preced-
ing. " As for Organs and curious Sing-
" ing, tho' they be proper to Popish
" Dens (I mean Cathedral Churches)
" yet some others also must have them ;
" the Queen's Chapel, &c." This was
deliver'd to the Parliament *printed*, and
dispersed over the Kingdom, as a pub-
lick Accusation of their Sovereign, in
the Year 1572, by Gentlemen who held
Preferments in the Church by her Fa-
vour and indulgent Connivance. An
Instance or two more of this Sort may
not be improper to illustrate Mr. N's
Assertion. " Their Loyalty to the ^{N's Hist.}
" Queen was untainted, and their Beha-^{p. 595.}
" viour was peaceable." We find in a
Collection of Tracts already mentioned,
call'd *Part of a Register*, a Petition
said to be of the Communality, where-
in they address'd the Queen in this re-
markable manner. " And to conceal ^{Part of a Reg.}
" nothing from your Majesty, We are
" greatly moved at the hearing of the
" Sermons of the godly Preachers ; for
" they plainly say, that if the Lord his
" Matters [i. e. the Geneva Platform]
" be not regarded, but still cast aside,
" and temporal Security sought for,
" only by the Wisdom of Man, that
" then

“ then there is a heavy Judgment pro-
“ vided by the Lord, and a black
“ Cloud hanging in the Air, for that
“ he will not be continually rejected.
“ — And now are the Eyes of *all*
“ *People* in the Land set upon *your*
“ *Majesty*, and wait for this gracious
“ Work, even the Establishing of a
“ learned Ministry, &c.” And that the
People, whose Eyes were thus directed
to the Throne, might consider their
Prince as the Cause of all the Misfor-
tunes or Calamities that befel them,
they add, “ God hath many times,
“ and by divers Means, heretofore
“ knocked not only by his gracious
“ Blessings, and sundry Petitions, but
“ also by his fearful Threatnings. For
“ undoubtedly as often as the Lord
“ hath shaken his Iron Rod *at your*
“ *Grace*, by the Sons of *Belial*, the
“ Papists; so many times hath he
“ shew’d himself offended and displeas-
“ ed, for that *you* have *not* as yet
“ given unto him the Honour of his
“ Temple, and the Glory of his San-
“ ctuary. Wherefore, most gracious
“ Sovereign, let him not have the Oc-
“ casion to shake his Rod any more, &c.”
So again “ Your Majesty knoweth very
“ well, that all this which was threaten’d
“ he might have put in Execution most
“ justly,

" justly, for this dumb Ministry so long
" continued." As to themselves, they
say with no great *Humility*, That
God had withdrawn his Judgments
upon their Account, " *having respect*
" to his Name — and to the Prayers
" of his *little Flock.*" At the same
time, their Injunction to the Queen is,
" Make an entire and simple Confession
" of *your Sins*—If, after this humble
" Confession of Sins, with a full Re-
" solution to remove them, and first
" of all, this dumb Ministry, which is
" the foulest of all; you shall also of-
" fer to the Lord in his Temple the
" Sacrifice of a holy learned Ministry,
" that he may smell a Savour of Rest;
" then undoubtedly he will be appeased
" towards *this Land.*" This was penn'd
at a time, as they declared themselves,
when the Kingdom was threatened with
an Invasion, which they represent as
one of the Judgments to be fear'd.
How *peaceable* and *loyal* (as Mr. N. re-
presents them) how *dutiful* or *decent*
this Treatment of their *Queen*, and
how little it tended to encourage *all*
her Subjects to support and assist her
against her Foes, is but too obvious.
In like manner, the Supplication to the
High Court of Parliament declares,
that the Establishment of the Church
of

of *England* was the Cause of all Ca-
Supplie p. 21. lamities. "Our dumb Ministers, Non-

" Residents, Lord Bishops, Archdea-
" cons, &c. are nothing else but an
" Encrease of sinful Men, risen up
" instead of their Fathers, the idola-
" trous Monks and Fryars, still to aug-
" ment the fierce *Wrath of God* against
" this *Land* and our *Governors.*" There
is another Instance of the like Behavi-

Strype's Ann. our: The Town of *Bury* had, as
Vol. III. p. 22. Mr. *Strype* informs us, for a long time

been remarkably affected to Puritanism; the Ministers for some Years varying from, or altering the Common-Prayer at their Discretion, disliking the Order of it, and *depraving* the Book; the Justices of the Peace countenancing and encouraging them herein, many young Ministers of this sort encreased in those Parts. In this famous Church of *Bury*, under the Queen's Arms they painted this Sentence, being the Reproof to the Church of *Thyatira*, Rev. ii. 20.

Ibid. 122. *Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, that thou suffereſt the Woman Jezabel, which maketh herſelf a Prophetess to teach and to deceiue my Servants; to make them commit Fornication, and to eat Meat ſacrificed unto Idols.* When the Reader is reminded, that this Inscription was fixt, as

Mr.

Mr. Strype informs us, after Consultation and Advice upon it, and that there were no Severities to provoke such a high Insult upon a crown'd Head: But great *Indulgence* to their *Nonconformity*: There is no Occasion for any further Reflection upon such undutiful Behaviour. This was one Method of *sharply* reproving the *Queen*, according to the Advice given in that *comfortable Epistle*, as it is call'd, of Mr. Doctor *Wy*, in Defence of the *Faithful*. " The Errors of Part of a Reg.

" Princes are not to be maintain'd, but^{p. 10.}
 " *sharply* to be reproved, rebuked, and
 " told to them, by those which will be
 " esteem'd God's Ministers and Servants.
 " *Our Princess*, therefore, as she de-
 " serveth high Commendation, for that
 " good Work which the Lord our God
 " hath wrought by her, so ought she
 " not to be *flatter'd*, in following of
 " her *Fantasies*; but rather *sharply* to
 " be reproved, for that she chuseth ra-
 " ther to thrust out of the Ministry
 " true and learned Preachers, than a
 " Piece of Popish Pomp.

There were indeed, *at first especial-*
ly, moderate Puritans, pious and peace-
 able Men, who scrupled some Things
 in the Church, but were utterly averse
 to the making any *Disturbance* or *Di-*
vision upon that Account. Mr. Fuller,
 who

who publish'd his History *in the Year 1656*, and cannot be charged with any Partiality against them, declares, "the *Puritans* of this Age [Queen Elizabeth's Reign] were divided into two Ranks; some *mild* and *moderate*, contented only to *enjoy* their own *Conscience*, Others fierce and fiery, to the *Disturbance* of the *Church* and *State*." Among the former, he reckons Father *Fox*, Dr. *Humphreys*, &c. who kept their *Preferments* in the *Church*, notwithstanding their *non-subscribing*. "When the first Set of Puritans were gone, Behold! (says he) another Generation of *active* and zealous Nonconformists succeeded them — Inveighing against the establish'd *Church Discipline*, accounting every Thing from *Rome* which was not from *Geneva*; endeavouring in all Things to conform the Government of the *English Church* to the *Presbyterian Reformation*." For a Taste, as he calls it, of their *Spirit*, he gives the following Account of three of them, "who were cited before Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London; one who did not run of himself; yea, would hardly answer the Spur in pressing Conformity." These three were, Mr. *White*, *Rowland*, and *Hawkins*,

Ibid. 81.

*Fuller's Ch.
Hist. Lib. IX.
p. 76.*

whom Mr. N. calls *chief Leaders* of the Separation) the Bishop ask'd them this Question. " *Have we not* ^{Ibid. 241.}

" *a godly Prince?* Speak, is she evil? To which they made their several Answers in the Manner following:

" *W. White*, what a Question is that?

" the Fruits do shew. *T. Rowland*,

" No, but the Servers of God are per-

" secuted under her. *R. Hawkins*,

" Why, this Question? the Prophet

" answereth in the Psalms. How can

" they have Understanding that *work*

" *Iniquity*, spoiling my People, and

" that extol Vanity? Wonder not,

" therefore, if the Queen proceeded

" severely against some of them, com-

" manding them to be put in Prison."

Thus far Mr. *Fuller*. The Bishop, we are told, intending to declare how severely what was said by one of them reflected upon the Queen, by whose Authority and Commission they acted, put the foregoing Question to them. How decent an Answer they gave in *open Court*, the Reader must judge; in Mr. N's Opinion 'twas too bad to be produced; and therefore, tho' he spends *several Pages* in giving an Account of their Examination, he cautiously omits every Word of *this Matter*; and yet Mr. *Strype* and Mr. *Fuller*, both quoted by

him upon the Occasion, make particular Mention of it. 'Twas easier for him to celebrate their *Loyalty*, when he thus carefully *omitted* all Instances of the contrary. 'Tis, however, no Wonder they were not more respectful to the Queen, since their whole Scheme of Church Government appears to be calculated for the Overthrow of Monarchy. The Civil Government was to be framed according to that of the Church, which had, as they alledged, the highest Authority, being of Divine Appointment. The State, therefore, was to be reduced to the same Form. Their comitital, provincial, or national Assemblies, the whole Frame of their Church Government was perfectly Popular or Republican. The *final Determination* of all Matters was lodged in this *General Body*. Mr. N's Account of their Sentiments is as follows.

N's History
p. 134.

" The Magistrate is not to be excluded from Church Assemblies : He may call a Council of his Clergy, appoint both Time and Place ; he may be there both by himself or his Deputy, but not as *Moderator, Determiner, or Judge* ; he may have his Voice in the Assembly, but the Orders and Decrees of Councils are not made by his Authority :" In like Manner

Manner it is declared in the Admonition;

" That to these three jointly, that is, ¹ Admon.

" the Ministers, Seniors and Deacons, is

" the *whole* Regiment of the Church

" to be committed." When they have

thus reduced a Crown'd Head to the

Level of every Tradesman or Farmer,

that has a *Voice* as a Ruling Elder, they

appoint him their *Executioner*, and re-

quire him to punish those that violate

their Canons. " 'Tis the Prince's Pro-^{N's History.}

" vince to see the *Decrees* of his Cler-^{p. 134.}

" gy executed, and to *punish* the Con-

" temners of them." Having settled

the Church upon this Republican Ba-

sis, and brought a Sovereign Prince so

low, let us next see how they'll ma-

nage the State. The *most accomplish'd*

Mr. Cartwright has given full Direc-

ions in this Matter, in the following re-

markable Words. " The World (says ^{Defence of}

" he) is now *deceived*, that thinketh ^{the Admon.}

" that the *Church* must be *framed* ac-

" cording to the *Commonwealth*; and

" the *Church* Government according

" to the Civil Government; which is

" as much to say, as if a Man should

" *fashion* his *House* according to his

" Hangings, whereas indeed it is *clean*

" *contrary*: That as the Hangings are

" made fit for the *House*, so the *Com-*

" *monwealth* must be made to agree

" with the *Church*, and the *Government*
 " thereof with *her Government*; for as
 " the House is before the Hangings,
 " therefore the Hangings which come
 " after, *must* be framed to the House
 " which was before; so the *Church* being
 " before there was any *Commonwealth*,
 " and the Commonwealth coming after,
 " *must* be fashioned and made suitable
 " unto the *Church*; otherwise God is
 " made to give Place to *Men*, Heaven
 " to Earth, &c." What can all this
 mean, but to shew the Necessity of
 destroying the *English* Form of Govern-
 ment in State as well Church, and
 placing in its Room the admired Re-
 publican Scheme of *Geneva*, that the
 House and the Hangings might suit
 each other. Mr. N. says "they did not
 " allow the Government of the *Church*
 " to be Monarchical;" but studiously
 conceals their Endeavours to reduce
 the State to the *same* Antimonarchical
 Form. However, due Care is taken of
 this Matter, in that celebrated Per-
 formance of Mr. *Travers* and *Cart-
 wright*; *A full and plain Declaration
 of Ecclesiastical Discipline, out of the
 Word of God*, &c. Here it is de-
 clar'd, "Magistrates must also, as well
 " as the rest, submit themselves, and
 " be obedient to the just and lawful
 " Autho-

N's Hist.
p. 133.

p. 185.

" Authority of the *Officers* of the
 " *Church*; for, seeing they not only
 " rule by Authority of Jesus Christ,
 " but in a Manner represent *his Person*,
 " seeing they rule not as they
 " themselves list, according to their
 " own Will, but only according to his
 " Word and Commandment; is it not
 " meet, that even *Kings* and the highest
 " Magistrates should be *obedient* unto
 " them? For it is meet that all the
 " *Princes* and *Monarchs* of the World
 " should give up their Sceptres and
 " Crowns unto him, whom God hath
 " made and appointed the Heir of his
 " Kingdom, and Lord of Heaven and
 " Earth. I might alledge out of the
 " Histories of all Times divers Examples
 " of *godly Princes*, who *submitted* them-
 " selves to the *Order* and *Government*
 " of the *Church* appointed by God.

Besides their Dislike in general to the *English* Form of Government, some of them had a particular Exception to Queen *Elizabeth, as a Woman*. This is not mention'd as the Opinion of every one of the Puritans; but as it proceeded from *Geneva*, and met with great Encouragement there, 'tis no Wonder that a wise Queen did not discover any great Fondness for a *Republican Platform* of Church Government

imported from the same Quarter. The Broacher of this Notion was the famous Mr. John Knox, in his *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women*. Wherein he endeavour'd to prove, that it was altogether unlawful for Women to reign, and, even to the last, continued resolute in this Opinion. His *Letters to Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* are very remarkable. He told the Secretary, and charged him

" in the Name of the Eternal God to
 " acquaint the Queen therewith [in
 " these Words] That if Queen *Elizabeth*
 " would confess, that the extra-
 " ordinary Dispensation of God's great
 " Mercy made that lawful unto her,
 " which both *Nature* and *God's Laws*
 " did deny unto all other Women be-
 " sides; then should none in *England*
 " be more willing to maintain her Au-
 " thority, than he; but if, God's
 " wondrous Work set aside, she ground-
 " ed the Justness of her Title upon Con-
 " suetude, *Laws* and *Ordinances* of
 " Men, then, as he was assured, such
 " foolish Presumption did offend God's
 " supreme Majesty; so he greatly fear'd,
 " that her *Ingratitude* should not long
 " lack *Punishment.*" To the Queen
 herself he wrote a Letter to the
 same Purpose, telling her, " that it
 " was

Strype's Ann.
Vol. I. p. 120.

Ibid. Vol. I.
p. 121.

" was God's peculiar and extraordinary
 " Providence that brought her to the
 " Kingdom, and that she was not to
 " plead her Right by *Descent or Law* ;
 " and plainly said, that if she began to
 " brag of her Birth, and to build her
 " Authority and Regiment upon her
 " own Law, her *Felicity* would be
 " short, flatter her who so listeth."

Mr. N's Character of this extraordi- N's Hist.
 nary Person is, *the reverend and learn-*^{p. 203.}

*ed Mr. John Knox, the Apostle and
 chief Reformer of the Kirk of Scotland.
 He was a Son of Thunder, and fear'd
 not the Face of any Man in the Cause
 of Religion, which betray'd him some-
 times into too coarse Treatment of his
 Superiors.* The Reader cannot but ob-
 serve, that every Whim which enters
 the Head of a Puritan, must be conse-
 crated with a solemn Name : *Knox*
 wrote a virulent Pamphlet against the
 Government of Women, and personally
 insulted a great Queen upon the Ac-
 count of her Sex. But he was a Puri-
 tan, and so becomes a *Son of Thunder*,
that fear'd not the Face of any Man in
the CAUSE OF RELIGION. In like
 manner, 'tis the reverend and learned
 Mr. John Knox died ; he was the
 Apostle and chief Reformer of the
 Church of Scotland — But " Matthew

N's Hist.
p. 340.

" Parker, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 " departed this Life — His Religion
 " consisted in a servile Obedience to
 " the Queen's Injunctions." Was there
 no Room to give him the like Cha-
 racter of Apostle and chief Reformer
 of the Church of *England*? But thus
 the Reader will always observe the
 Epithets, *Pious*, *Reverend*, *Learned*,
&c. join'd to Puritan Names ; if any
 Description is added to the Name of a
 Conformist, 'tis of a different Sort ; but
 as to Mr. *Knox*, he was *not singular* in
 this Opinion about the *Government of*
Women. His Friends at *Geneva* con-
 curr'd with him. " 'Twas not long af-
 " ter *Knox*'s Book, (as Mr. *Strype* ac-
Strype's Ann.
Vol. I. p. 122.
 " quaints us) That *Christopher Goodman*,
 " one of the Exiles at *Geneva*,
 " printed a Book of the like Tenor
 " with that of *Knox*'s. To this Book
 " of *Goodman*'s, *William Whitingham*
 " wrote a Preface commendatory of the
 " *Man and his Work.*" *Knox* and
Goodman were *Pastors* of the Church
 at *Geneva*, and *Whitingham* a *Preach-*
er there. By *Whitingham*'s Account
 in his Preface, *Goodman conferr'd the*
Articles and chief Propositions, with
the best learned in those Parts, [viz.
Geneva] who approved them. So that
 this seems to have been the general
 Sense

Sense of the English Church at Geneva.
This Notion was so industriously spread,
and so deeply rooted, that tho' Good-
man did afterwards renounce it, yet it
was still received in England. " These *Ibid.* p. 126.

" Principles (says Mr. Strype) against
" Women's Government, seem'd not to
" be buried many Years after, but to
" be secretly entertain'd; and that by
" Papists as well as Protestants."

Something of this Sort seems to have
been derived down to the Author of
the History of the Puritans, who ap-
pears a little tinctured with this Opin-
ion of his Friends, when he remarks
as follows. " This was a high Display *N's Hist.*
" of the Supremacy, when the Head *p. 558.*

" of the Church, being a *Woman, &c.*
As if it would have alter'd the Case,
had it been done by a *Man.* The
Crown, in his Opinion, not being en-
titled to the same Prerogatives, when
placed on the Head of a Queen, as if
it was wore by a King. Tho' Queen
Elizabeth could not countenance and
establish the Geneva Platform, attend-
ed with many and great Inconvenien-
cies; yet such was her Regard to the
Protestant Interest, which was her
principal View, and so desirous was she
to have Protestant Preachers, that,
as Mr. N. himself asserts, she offered

Mr.

N's History
p. 142.

Strype's Ann.
p. 126.

Mr. Knox a *Bishoprick*. *Whittingham* enjoy'd, to his Death, no less a Pre-ferment the *Deanry of Durham*; and *Goodman*, whom we find *Chaplain to a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, was otherwise provided for. Thus far were the *Queen* and the Bishops from being cruel and relentless! and thus evident it is, that Queen *Elizabeth* was not a *Papist* in her Heart! The Declaration she sent to the Parliament in 1572 is a farther Confirmation of this. 'Tis preserved in Sir *Simon D'Ew*'s Journal.

" That her Majesty, as Defender of
" the Faith, will aid and maintain *all*
" good Protestants, to the discouraging
" of all Papists.

But to proceed to other *Principles* and *Practices* of the *Puritans* that affected the *Civil Government*, the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, or the *Rights* of the *Subject*. Their very first and fundamental Propofal of *Popular Elections* of Ministers, that none should be admitted to a Benefice, but who was chosen and call'd by the People, invaded not only the *Rights* and *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, but the *Property* of all *Corporations* and *private Persons*, who were lawfully posfess of *Advowfons*. " Your Wifdoms, (say they to the Parliament, in their Admo-

Vid. Direct.
of Church
Government,
Full and plain
Declaration
of Discipline.
Vid. Admoni-
on, &c.

r Admon.

Admonition) "have to remove ADVOW-
 " SONS, PATRONAGES, IMPROPRIATI-
 " ONS, and Bishops Authority, claim-
 " ing to themselves thereby Right to
 " ordain Ministers, and to bring in that
 " old and true Election which was ac-
 " custom'd to be made by the Congrega-
 " gation." This Scheme entirely took
 away the *Right of Patronage*, how
 justly soever acquired, and must have
 occasion'd great *Confusion* and *Disturb-
 ance* in the Nation; and in many Pla-
 ces, where the People were still Popish-
 ly inclin'd, have open'd a Door to the
 Election of Popish Priests. Nor do we
 find, at this Day, any such good Effects
 from popular Elections of the Clergy,
 as to recommend that Method to our
 Practice. No body pretends, that those
 Clergy, who are chose by a Vestry of
 the People, are remarkably distinguis-
 hed, either for Learning or Behaviour,
 from such as are presented by the pro-
 per Patrons.

Mr. Strype has preserv'd a Tract ^{Strype's Whit-}
 drawn up in those Times, entitled, ^{gilt, p. 258.}
*Certain Mischiefs ensuing the Puritans
 Demands and Platform, in ten Articles.*

" I. It overthrows her Majesty's Su-
 " premacy; which consists chiefly in
 " these three Heads, viz. her Title and
 " supreme Government over all Persons
 " and

" and Causes Ecclesiastical. That no
 " Law be made and put in Practice,
 " without her particular Assent. That
 " the Appellation in Causes Ecclesiasti-
 " cal be made to her Highness in Chan-
 " cery, as it was before to the Pope.
 " All Three must, in effect, be abo-
 " lished.

" For the First, they say, the Prince,
 " being no Elder, is in the Number
 " of those, *Qui facile debent pati se*
regi & gubernari: And not the Su-
 " preme Governour.

" For the Second, The making of
 " all Ecclesiastical Laws they ascribe
 " to the Senate wholly, and do give to
 " the Prince Authority only to punish
 " such as offend their Orders: Which
 " is indeed to give her Highness Go-
 " vernment *in Personas tantum, non*
in Causas, & potestatem Facti, non
Juris.

" For the Third, Their Appellations
 " lye from the *Eldership* to a *Confe-*
rence; from that to a *Provincial;*
 " from that to a *National Synod*, which
 " must definitively end all.

" II. It taketh from her Majesty
 " that Part of her *Prerogative Royal,*
 " whereby she is *Patron Paramount* of
 " all the Benefices in *England*, accrui-
 " ing to her by Lapse or otherwise.

" III. It

" III. It taketh from *her Majesty*,
 " and all other of the *Laity*, that
 " Part of their *Inheritance*, whereby
 " they present to the Ecclesiastical Li-
 " vings, *Jus Patronatus*.

" IV. They hold it *unlawful* to pay
 " to *her Majesty* the *First Fruits* and
 " *Tenths* of their Livings; or that
 " either *her Majesty*, or any *Layman*
 " shall have in their Possession *any Im-*
 " *propriation*.

" V. They require to have *more Col-*
 " *leges* built, for the encreasing of
 " that Number which is to fill their
 " Presbyteries; and that all the *Bishops*
 " *Livings*, and such Lands as apper-
 " tain'd heretofore unto Abbies, may
 " partly be employ'd that Way, and
 " partly to the better Maintenance of
 " their Presbyteries.

" VI. It overthoweth both *Archbi-*
 " *shops* and *Bishops*; and so conse-
 " quently one of the chief Degrees of
 " the *State* of this Realm; desiring, as
 " of *Necessity*, an *Equality* of Ministers.

" VII. It overthoweth all the *Ecc-*
 " *lesiastical Constitutions, Laws* and
 " *Ordinances*, which have been made
 " ever since the *Apostles Times*; that
 " so they may make such other as shall
 " be thought meet in every Congre-
 " gation.

" VIII. It

“ VIII. It overthroweth a great Part
“ of the *Common Laws* and *Statutes* ;
“ as, besides those which depend upon
“ her Majesty’s Supremacy, the Statute
“ of *Mortmain*, &c. If this Platform
“ should go forward, it may boldly be
“ averr’d, that *One whole Man’s Life*
“ of Parliaments would not be *suffici-*
“ *ent* to make *new Laws*, which might
“ bring it to any *tolerable State of Go-*
“ *vernment*.

“ IX. It overthroweth *the present*
“ Division of this Land into *Parishes*,
“ and requires a *new one* to be made,
“ answerable to their Fancies.

“ X. It maketh *her Highness subject*
“ to their *Excommunication*; and so
“ consequently, is not unlikely to prove
“ a Matter of great Danger. For, if
“ her Majesty should be *Excommuni-*
“ *cate*, and not yield thereunto, the
“ chief Authors of this Platform do
“ affirm, that then, *Lege feudorum*,
“ which they say holdeth in Kingdoms,
“ her Majesty’s Subjects, or any others,
“ are freed from their Oaths of Fi-
“ delity.

“ What dangerous Propositions the
“ chief Patrons of this new devised
“ Government have published of late
“ Years; how natural-born Subjects
“ may rebel against their Prince, de-
“ pose

" pose him, and execute him, every
 " Man knows, who have read the
 " Books intituled, *De jure regni apud
 " Scotos*; and *Junius Celta* his Book
 " intituled, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*.

" It condemneth the Government of
 " the Church ever since the Apostles
 " Times; and containeth many more
 " strange Assertions, and some Impossi-
 " bilities.

Mr. N. p. 480. gives some Account of
 this Matter. He refers us to this Pas-
 sage quoted from Mr. *Strype*, but in-
 stead of transcribing the Words of the
 Author, greatly softens their Scheme,
 by giving an Abridgment of his own.
 The Puritans presented a Supplication
 to the Parliament, with the Book of
 a Form of Common-Prayer annex'd.
 This, after the *Admonitions*, was an-
 other publick and *authentick* Declara-
 tion of the Designs of the Puritans.

Mr. N. speaks of their Scheme in
 this Manner. " It takes the *Jurisdi-*
 " *ction* of the Church out of the Hands
 " of the *Spiritual Courts*, and places
 " it in an *Assembly* of Ministers and
 " Elders in *every Shire*, who shall
 " have Power to examine, approve,
 " and *present* Ministers to the several
 " Parishes for their *Election*, and even
 " to depose them, with the *Consent of*
 " *the*

"*the Bishop*, upon their Misbehaviour." Was Mr. N. convinced their Scheme would not bear the Light that he has given so imperfect an Account of it, and would not venture to give his Reader the Words of the Author, he refers to in his Margin? To supply this Defect, and lay the Matter fairly before the World, it may be proper to take some Notice of a Speech in the House of *Commons*, when the Puritan *Bill* and *Book* were brought into that House; by this it will appear, that *Lay-Gentlemen* saw much more in their Scheme, than Mr. N.'s imperfect Abridgment was intended to bring to the Reader's Mind: In short, that a total *Subversion of the Constitution*, and not the *reforming* some few *Abuses*, was their *grand Design*. This Gentleman speaks from an Authority which Mr. N. with all the Courage he so frequently talks of, did not dare to produce, even their *Bill* and *Book it self*. There is one Thing should be observed particularly. This Historian ventures to affirm, that Ministers, by this Bill, were to be deposed *with the Consent of the Bishop*, upon their Misbehaviour; whereas the Author he refers to, expressly says, that the *Bill* was very *injurious* to the *chief* of the *Clergy*, "and calulated

" culated for the *Overthrow* of the
 " present State of the Clergy, by their
 " Presbyteries, especially Archbishops,
 " and Bishops, &c. as being Callings
 " not agreeable to the Word of God,
 " as the *Bill sayeth.*" This Paper con-
 tains so many considerable Things
 relating to the Puritans, and the Dis-
 pute with them, that, perhaps it will
 not be disagreeable to the Reader to
 have the whole of it laid before him,
 tho' it be something long. Mr. *Strype*
 calls it an excellent Paper, wherein the
 true State of the Case between the
 new Reformers and those that stuck to
 the Reformation, as it then stood, is
 shewn. 'Tis preserved in his Appendix
 to the Life of *Whitgift*, Pag. 109.
 under the following Title.

" *The Sum of a Speech in Parlia-*
 " *ment, Anno 1586; upon the Bill*
 " *and Book of the Puritans, then*
 " *offer'd.*

THAT where the Book and Bill
 hath been greatly commended,
 &c. and altho' in Respect of manifold
 Busines, &c. I have taken no further
 Pains in the Word of God, than con-
 cerneth the due Information of a true
 Christian Man, as well in Matters of
all Q Faith,

Faith, as of Manners ; by the one to be instructed in the Sincerity of true Religion, how to believe, and by the other, how to direct my Actions to God's Glory, and the Profit of my Country : And besides, that I have deemed it evermore a special Part of Christian Sobriety, for every Man to contain himself within the Bounds of his own Vocation ; and not to presume too much upon his own Knowledge to dispute, decide and determine Ecclesiastical Matters, appertaining properly to the learned Doctors, and grave Fathers of the Church ; yet, for as much as, a great Part of this desired Reformation cometh within the *Compass of my Profession*, touching Matters of State, I have thought good to crave your heedful Regard, &c. while I shall open unto you sundry Points of very great *Consequence* touching the same.

The whole Reformation began in King Edward's Time, and undertaken by her Majesty, consisteth chiefly in the Establishment of,

I. A true Government of the Church greatly corrupted, and foully usurped by the Bishop of *Rome*.

II. The pure *Doctrine* of Christ, by a sound Reformation and Purgation thereof from Popery.

III. A

III. A Godly Order for publick Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, with other holy Rites and Ceremonies; instead of the Popish Mass, barbarous Service, and many other Corruptions.

This Reformation was made upon most grave Consideration, by the chief learned Doctors and Fathers of this Church. It hath oftsoons been fin'd and refid'; and by her Majesty, at length, brought to such Perfection, as the Profession of this reformed Religion in *England*, hath been ever since the chief Key and Stay thereof, in all the Reformed Churches in Christendom. What Joy was once in *England* for this Reformation! How many Letters have been written hither by Strangers, to congratulate the Sincerity and Happiness thereof! And, how many Challenges have been made, and Books written, in Defence of the same? Our Adversaries abroad have been mightily refuted. *Sed inimici hominis domestici ejus* [i. e. A Man's Enemies are those of his Household] Among all the Assaulls made hitherto by sundry Sectaries against this our Reformation, there was never any, to my Knowledge, comparable to this last Bill and Book, exhibited here among us.

My Purpose is to deal only with that Part which toucheth *Government*. Howbeit, as by the Way, I cannot but remember unto you, how, notwithstanding the Law made *Anno 1.* of her Majesty, *that whosoever should, either by Word or Writing, deprave, &c. the Book of Common-Prayer, &c.* This Book termeth the same to contain divers Imperfections, gross *Corruptions*, and so many *Repugnancies* with the Word of God, as that scarce any Part thereof remaineth *sound*. In respect whereof it earnestly desireth, to have the same *wholly abrogated*; and doth offer *another*, newly made unto us, to be *Established*: Wherein, first, my Masters, I will speak but like a politick Man; will you alter and reform the *whole Form and Order* of your Service? Will you take the Book from us, which we have been persuaded to think both good and godly; and give us a new, accounting the other corrupt, &c. Might it not have *sufficed* to have *reformed* the *Errors*? If you answer, that there were so many, it could not be otherwise done, will any Man believe you? What will the People say? Assuredly, whereas you pretend hereby to *work Wonders*, you shall drive them by *Thousands*, either to become *Atheists* or

or *Papists*. I tell you, there is an old Note of Schismaticks or Hereticks, which is very rife among us, and I think it is in the Scriptures, *semper discentes*, and *nunquam ad Scientiam pervenientes*; assuredly all good Men do begin hereby to suspect you.

2dly, If I be not deceived, I find a shameful, slight and cunning Point, smoothly pass'd over, in this Bill exhibited. It is well known, that some Ringleaders in this Schism have taught, that it was *unlawful* to have a *prescribed Form* of Service in the Church; but now your Fellows have framed us one: Belike, they meant every such Kind of Service to be unlawful, except it were of your own making. In good Earnest, do you mean indeed as you seem? Shall we have a Book of *Common-Prayer* to be usually *read*, and *observed* in our *Churches*; so as the common People who cannot read, by often hearing one Form of Prayer may learn the same, to their great Comforts, elsewhere? What meaneth the Book then, when the Rubrick before your Chapter of publick Exercises, such an Order is there prescribed, as doth never permit the chief Part thereof, that is the Confession in the first Chapter, to be read in the Church? Besides,

what meaneth this? There is a *Form* of Service set down to be used before and after Sermon; which is, indeed, the whole Service: And yet in the Rubrick after the same, it is thus written, *it shall not be necessary for the Minister daily, &c.* And in the Chapter of Baptism, because he *prayeth in this manner, or such like;* and in the Chapter of the Lord's Supper, the Minister giveth Thanks in these Words following, or the like in Effect. So, as for any thing I see, altho', to please us withal, there be in Shew a Book pretended, yet in Truth there is no such Matter; but all, or the most Part, is left to the Minister's Spirit. These Men do therefore verify the Proverb, *Aurum superatum, tuffis pro crepitu.*

Touching the second Part of our Reformation; that is, true *Doctrine* repurged; I take it, the whole Sum thereof is contain'd in the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion, set out by Law Anno 1562, whereof I find by this Bill and Book, Three of them wholly condemn'd or abrogated, viz. the 34th, of the *Traditions* of the Church: The 35th, of *Homilies*: The 36th, of the making of *Bishops and Ministers*. Besides, it seemeth unto me, that one of the Articles of our Belief is, in Effect, abro-

abrogated, *wiz. Descendit ad inferos.*
 But this is a Question, it seems, among
 Divines; I will not meddle with it.
 Howbeit, I remember, that, about Se-
 ven Years since, there was written a
 Book, to the like Purpose, by one *Car-
 lisle*; which her Majesty, by the Advice
 of the best learned of the Clergy, for-
 bad, as a very dangerous Book and Af-
 fliction.

But all this while I am almost beside
 my Purpose: Leaving therefore in this
 sort Matters of Divinity, I will come
 to speak of our *Government*; which,
 in *some Points*, is quite *overthrown*; in
some greatly *shaken*; and by *some* very
 much *endanger'd*. That which I there-
 fore mislike in this Bill and Book, is,
 that it is very *injurious* to *us* of the
Laity, to the Chief of the *Clergy*;
 but *especially* to her *Majesty*.

First to our selves, it appeareth in
 the Sixth *Chapter* of this Book, that
 when any Ecclesiastical Man should die,
 or be removed, *Jus Patronatus* should
 be in every *Presbytery*. And so *Elders*,
 I know not how, should present to the
 Livings. Which toucheth us all in our
Inheritances; and besides, turneth to
 our no small *Reproof*; in that of *ancient
 Time*, having received such *Credit*
 and *Authority*, we only shall be thought

unworthy to continue our *Right, &c.* Why surely, I cannot see, but that if we were all as we pretend, there could not be many Presbyteries erected in this Land, more able to present fit Men to any of our Livings, than we our selves, if we would use but those Helps appointed by Law already. For mine own Part, &c. but yet in this Matter we are farther touched. Here are Orders set down for the *Burthening every Parish* with one Pastor, at the least, a Doctor, two Deacons, at the least; besides I know not how many Elders, to be found in *Equity*, if they be poor, and do labour in the Causes of the Church, by the Relief of the Parish, as well as any of the rest. But neither Bill nor Book do speak one Word with what Livings, or how those Offices shall be maintain'd. Wherein there is a *Piece of Cunning* used; supposing that plain Dealing would have hinder'd their Purpose; for indeed their Meaning is, to draw from us, maugre our Heads, our *Impropriations*. And if the Spoil of the Bishops and Cathedral Churches will not serve their Turns, as certainly they cannot, their Number being so great; then do they set it down, that we are bound to *surrender* out of our Hands our *Abbey Lands*, and

and such other Possessions as have at any time belonged to the Church.

It is wonderful to see how *despiteful* they write of this Matter. They call us *Church Robbers, Devourers of Holy Things, Cormorants, &c.* affirming, that, by the Laws of God, things once consecrated to God for the Service of his Church, belong unto him for ever: And that we keep such Goods and Livings contrary to our own Consciences, as appears in this Book of *Ecclesiastical Government*, and another which came unto my Hands the last Parliament, intituled, *A Complaint of the Commonalty*. Whereby we may see what is intended against us; how for the enriching of *themselves*, they labour, by our Consents, to *impoverish us*; and with what reproachful Speeches they handle us. For mine own Part, I have some Impropriations, &c. and, I thank God, I keep them with a good Conscience, &c. Many would be undone. The Law approveth us, &c. The Rule, *Cui bono?* maketh me to think, that these hot, busy Reformers, do rather seek *Ours*, than *us*.

Secondly, for the Overthrow of the present State of the Clergy by their Presbyteries, especially Archbishops and Bishops, &c. as being Callings not agreeable

able to the *Word of God, as the Bill sayeth*; I will leave it to Divines, being a Matter without my Reach, altho', in my Conscience, I do see the Necessity of those Dignities and Authorities, for avoiding a *Contention*, and better Reputation of their Callings. As to the same Purpose, we have in the Civil Law, Noblemen and Gentlemen; and do verily hold that Part of the Bill as a loud Untruth. This only do I judge, that hereby a great Indignity is offer'd to the Honour of this Realm, in seeking to *spoil* the same of *one essential Part of the second State*, to alter the Honour of our Parliaments, and to bring into it a *Barbarous Equality*, which hath usually hitherto been *No verca Regnum, & Mater Confusionis*; and, as tho' it were unlawful for Majesty to confer Honour, where, indeed, otherwise it best deserved.

But *Thirdly*, to come to that which most of all should touch us, *viz. her Majestys Estate*. I find this Platform injurious to her *Supremacy*, to her *Strength*, and to her *PERSON*.

For her Highness's *Supremacy*, it consisteth principally, as I gather out of the Statute to that Purpose, *Ann. i.* of her Majesty.

1. Upon her Title of *Supreme Head*
or *Governour*.

2. Her Authority in *making Ecclesiastical Laws*.

3. Upon the Right, that the *last Appellation* in such Causes should be made to her Majesty's *Chancery*. All which Points are in *a manner wholly ABROGATED* by this Bill and Book. For altho' it be faid therein, that the Sovereign Majesty is placed by God in highest Authority under him, within their Dominions, over all Persons and Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; yet mark, how the Book interpreteth itself. Forsooth, their Dominion they speak of is this, that the Sovereign must see and command the ordering of them, as God hath appointed by his Word. He must not make any *himself*, by his ordinary Authority, but see *others* make them: Which is not Sovereign Authority in *Causas*, but in *Personas*; and is call'd, *Potestas facti, non juris*.

Secondly, Where this Bill affirmeth, that the *Guidance* of the Church is committed to the *Pastors, Doctors, and Elders*; that they by common Consent might direct *all* the Affairs and Business of the same, *Qui dicit omne malum, nihil excipit*: Where it sayeth, that the *Presbytery* hath *Authority*

thority to chuse, elect, ordain, and, upon Occasion, to remove and displace All Ecclesiastical Officers; and, as the Book sayeth, to visit, decide Causes, appoint thereon Meetings, Conferences and Synods; in the End, what is left to her Majesty? or wherein is the fulfilling of that Law, which sayeth, that all Authority to visit, reform, redress, order, elect, correct, make Laws, abrogate Laws, call Synods, &c. is annex'd unto her Royal Crown and Dignity, and doth not appertain to any other in a Christian Kingdom, but as derived thence.

Thirdly, it appeareth both in the Bill and Book, that if any Difficulty or Grievances do arise in these Presbyteries, there lyeth no Appeal, but from the Presbytery to the Conference; from that to a provincial Synod; and thence to a national. Whereas, when her Majesty's Father did first abandon Popery, this was his chiefest Endeavour, that the Appeals which were made to Rome might, by Degrees, come into his Chancery: So as hereby it is manifest, as I think, that this new Device is very injurious to her Majesty's Supremacy.

Now of the second Point; how it diminisheth her Majesty's Strength and Ability. In my Conceit, her Majesty's Strength

Strength standeth very much upon her Revenues. Large Tributes, and great Riches, are indeed *Nervi Reipublicæ, ornamenta Pacis, subsidia Belli.* Now what a Loss would her Highness sustain, if, as it hath been said, all her *Impropriations* should be taken from her? but what if they deal with her Majesty in her *Tenths* and *First-Fruits*, as with her *Impropriations*? Surely the Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline nameth the exacting of the same *Nundinationum & Spoliationum Direptiones.*

Lastly, touching her Majesty's Person and Safety; I account it hereby greatly endanger'd; in that her Highness is made subject to the Presbytery Censures, Representations, Suspensions, and Excommunications: Which, tho' it be not precisely there named, yet I am sure none will deny it, sith it is so largely set out in the Ecclesiastical Discipline; for who knows how far they may proceed, if her Majesty do neglect their Excommunications? Is it not, think you, very well known, what *outrageous Assertions* are made hereof in your chief Presbytery Mens Books? Doth not her Majesty understand what is set down hereof in these Books: *De jure Regni apud Scotos; De jure Magistratum in subditos, Vindiciae contra Tyrannos,*

nos, and others? Yes, Indeed — So as to conclude, I assure you, so far forth as I am able to look into the Matters, I think, all Circumstances considered, there never was mov'd in a Parliament, to my Remembrance, and urged with such Importunity, by those who would be reckon'd her Majesty's best affected, most faithful, and most dutiful Subjects, a Matter of greater *Inconvenience*, nay *Mischief*.

For, I pray you, wherein differ these Men, in this Case, from the Papists? The Pope denyeth the *Supremacy* of Princes; so do, in effect, these: The Pope yieldeth to them only *poteſtatem facti, non juris, in personas, non causas*: No more do our Reformers in this Point. The Pope where he entereth, doth abrogate all such Laws as any Prince hath made in Church Matters, to his Dislike; and so would these Men do with all the Laws, Canons, Constitutions and Orders heretofore made in the Church, as is express'd in the last Sentence of the Bill, &c. *Ita fiat repetitio reliquorum.*

This publick Account of the Nature and Tendency of their Scheme is confirm'd by Mr. Fuller, who acquaints us, that the *Original State* of the Point of Nonconformity was much alter'd and dif-

Fuller's Ch.
Hist. p. 264.

disguised, and MANY State Businesses by turbulent Spirits thrust into it. And even in the Year 1572, we find the like Account of them in Mr. Strype. "This Par-^{Strype's Parker} ty (says he) grew more formidable to p. 389.

" the State, as well as to the establish'd " Government of the Church." Agreeably to this, 'twas observed by Archbishop Parker to the Lord Treasurer, " that Ibid. 447.

" how secure soever the *Nobility* were " of these Puritans, and countenanced " them against the Bishops, they them- " selves might rue it at last; and that all " that these Men tended toward was the " Overthrow of all honourable Qua- " lity, and the setting a foot a *Com-*
monwealth, or, as he call'd it, a
Popularity." That these People did
not confine their Thoughts to Matters
of Religion, is very evident from some
Requests which they add to a Piece,
intitled, *The lamentable Complaint of the Commonality, by way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament for a learned Ministry*. It shou'd seem, by their Account, that some Noblemen and Gentlemen occupied their own Land, and had sometimes, for the greater Conveniehce, laid one Farm to another, or otherwise enlarged their Farms; upon which they make the following Request. " We pray, there-
ore,

" fore, those Noblemen and Gentlemen
" to be *occupied* in the MAINTAIN-
" ANCE of the GOOD MINISTERS, by
" their Authority, against the Enemies
" of Religion, and in the Affairs of
" the Commonwealth, to hold them-
" selves *contented* with their Rents,
" and *not to invade our Calling*, but
" to suffer us to till the Ground, ex-
" cept so much as may serve for the
" Provision of their House; that these
" greedy Farmers would employ all
" their Industry and Diligence in the
" good Husbandry of *one Farm*, that
" it may yield greater Profit than
" before, and that every Landlord
" would lay to his *Cottage*, where it
" may be a good Portion of *Land*, to
" be occupied by the Cottinger, and
" none other; and because *Prayer*
" will not prevail with all, we desire
" that by Law they may be *compell'd*
" to do as they ought to do; for we
" trust that the *plentiful Preaching* of
" the Word, with a Statute to take
" down the *Pride in Apparel*, will
" persuade the *Landlords* to set a rea-
" sonable Price of their Farms and
" Cottages; and as these Evils, before
" rehearsed, bite us sore, even to the
" Bone, yet the *Sting of Ignorance* is
" a thousand times worse, which, above
" all,

" all we desire to be cured. Amen." This same complaining *Commonality* make very free with *Property*, in their Complaint it self, where they insist, not only that the *Impro priation*, but the *Right of Patronage* should be given up to the Church. " What, say they, " belongeth to *God* that is kept from " him ? Even that which *appertaineth* " unto his *Church*, to wit, *Presen-*
" *tations and Impro propriations.*

We have a further *Confirmation* of the several Particulars before-mentioned, in another Paper, drawn up, as it seems, by *Lord Keeper Puckering*. 'Tis preserv'd in the 4th Volume of Mr. *Strype's Annals*, pag. 140. As this Relation proceeds from so eminent a Person, who had no private Interest in supporting the Ecclesiastical Establishment ; and as it plainly appears by a Letter from Mr. *Cartwright* to him Strype's Ann. Vol. IV. p. 20. (likewise preserved by Mr. *Strype*) that he was far from being an *Enemy* to the *Persons* of the Puritans, however dangerous he thought their Opinions and Practices, the Testimony of such a Man will obtain great Regard and Credit. The whole Discourse is too long to be transcribed, however Mr. *N*'s Example in abridging shall not be follow'd ; but all that is quot-

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ed shall be in the *very Words* of the Author, which are as follow.

Two Kinds of Schismaticks, and the Danger of their Opinions, either directly, or by necessary Consequence gather'd, to be holden by those who urge a new Church Government, commonly called Puritans. These be of two Sorts ; first, some that will communicate with us in Prayers, Sermons, and Sacraments. Secondly, Others that will not. The first Sort hold Opinions dangerous ; first, to her Majesty and the Crown, or, secondly, to the State, or to the Policy of the Realm.

The Opinions especially touching her Majesty and the Crown, are either against, first, the Revenues ; or, secondly, her Highness's *Prerogative* and *Supremacy* ; or, thirdly, the Prince's Safety in the Kingdom.

Their Opinion against the Revenues of the Crown. That the detaining of the *Possessions of Religious Houses* and *Impropriations* (being given once to the Church) is *Sacrilege*, and ought to be restored to the Church again ; that the *Ministers* and others of the Ecclesiastical Function ought to be *exempt* from paying *first Fruits, Tents, Subsidies,*

sidies, and other Impositions, like as the *Priests of Egypt* were, even under a *Heathen King*.

Their Opinion against the Prerogative and Supremacy : They take away all *Gifts* of *Bishopricks* and *Deanries* from her Majesty, by *dissolving* them. They take away all *Patronages* from her *Majesty* and *others*, and her Higness's *Patronage Paramount*, for *Benefices* lapsed. For they make all Ecclesiastical Functions *merely elective* by the *People* or their *Elderships*.

When the Supremacy was justly restored to the Crown, one chief supereminency was, that the *last Appellation*, in all Ecclesiastical Causes, was to be made to the *King in the Chancery*. This they take away ; for they make the Appellation from an Eldership *Consistory*, to a *Colloquy*, or *Conference* ; from thence to a provincial *Synod* ; and lastly, to a national ; and *That* to be *final*.

They deny the Prince's Authority in making Laws Ecclesiastical ; which they do attribute to their *Synod*.

Tho' in Words they will not deny the *Oath of Supremacy*, yet in very Truth they take it away ; for they say, she is supreme Governor over all Persons, and all Causes Ecclesiastical,

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but not [*in Causes Ecclesiastical*] for they attribute *no more* to her but to establish their Discipline, and to defend them from Time to Time in the Execution of it, which is *Nuda potestas facti & non juris*; an Authority attributed by the Papists unto their Princes.

That her *Majesty* being a Child of the Church, is *subject* to the *Censures* of *Excommunication* by their *Eldership*, as well as any other People; and that no Man ought to aid, comfort, salute or *obey* an *excommunicate* Person; and that so long as one is *excommunicated*, he cannot exercise his *Magistracy*.

That *all Persons*, as well as meaner Persons, *must* willingly *be ruled* and *govern'd*, and *must obey those* whom God hath set over them, that is, the just Authority of *Ecclesiastical Magistrates*; and *must lick the Dust off the Feet of the Church*.

That the *Eldership* and *Synods* are to call and *proclaim publick Fasts* — That the Offices of this Church of *England* are invented by the *Magistrate*, and so no Members of Christ's Body. That she doth injure the Church, to keep the true Officers out. That she maimeth and deformeth the Body of

of Christ. That every Christian Magistrate is bound to receive this Government by *Pastors*, *Doctors*, *Elders*, and *Deacons*, into the Church, within his Dominions, whatsoever Inconvenience may be like to follow the receiving of it. That those who withstand it, hold it to be lawful, for her Majesty and the State, to bid God to Battle against them ; and that they make our Prince and Governor wage War against God.

That these four Officers are now the *only true Members*, that is, the *only true Officers* of the visible Body of Christ : So that her Majesty, nor any other but these, is a true Officer, or Member, in the visible Body of the Church, by this Assertion.

That the highest Ecclesiastical Authority in all Matters of the Church, is belonging to their Eldership.

Against her Majesty's Safety in the Kingdom.

That the *Government* of the *Church* is *Aristocratical* or *Popular* ; and that the *Government* of the *Commonwealth* must be *framed* according to the *Government* of the *Church* ; even as the Hangings to the *Church*, [the House.]

Against the State and Policy of the
Realm.

— That the *judicial Law of Moses*, for punishing divers Sins by Death, is in Force, and ought to be observed in *every Commonwealth*, as commanded by God ; and therefore, that no Prince nor Law can, or ought to save the Lives of wilful Offenders, not offending by Ignorance only : Nor of Blasphemers of God's Name ; nor of Conjurers, Soothsayers, Persons possess'd with an Evil Spirit, *Hereticks*, perjured Persons, wilful Breakers of the Sabbath-Day, Neglecters of the Sacraments, without just Reason ; disobedient to Parents, or that curse them ; incestuous Persons ; a Daughter committing Fornication in her Father's House ; Adulterers ; all incontinent Persons, saving single Fornicators ; and all Conspirators against any Man's Life.

That *Lex talionis*, that is, an Eye for an Eye, a Hand for a Hand, &c. ought to be observed of Necessity in *every Commonwealth*. That all Matters arising in their several Limits, (tho' they be meer *Civil and Temporal*) if there may happen to be Breach of Charity, or Wrong be offer'd by one unto another, may and ought to be composed

posed by the Eldership : And he that shall refuse to be order'd, is to be excommunicated.

That not only the *State Ecclesiastical*, being one of the *Three in Parliament*, may, but also ought to be cut off.

That it is *unlawful* for any State to tolerate the present Government Ecclesiastical. That it is *false, unlawful, bastardly, unchristian*. That none can be a good and sound Subject that defends it. That they are *Traytors to God and his Word*, that do so. That they are all *Enemies to her Majesty and the Land*. That they are to answer for the Blood, which the *Spaniard*, or any other Enemies are like to spill. That they bring in Hazard her Majesty's Life, and the Prosperity of the whole Kingdom, and are the greatest Enemies it hath. That her Majesty, and her People, are seduced out of the right Way.

That *Ministers*, of Duty, not only may, but ought to determine and decree of *all*, both Civil and Ecclesiastical Causes; tho' not of the very Fact, as Civil Magistrates do, yet touching the Right, and what the Law is: For that thereof they are appointed of God to be Administrators.

The second Sort of Puritans now
call'd *Barrowists.*

They do hold all the former Positions ; and besides, they also hold these Errors following.

1. That it is not lawful to use the Lord's Prayer publickly in the Church for a set Form of Prayer.
2. That all set and stinted Prayers are meer Babbling in the Sight of the Lord ; and not to be used in publick Christian Assemblies.
3. That the publick Prayers and Worship of God, in *England*, as it is by Law, in the Church of *England*, establish'd, is false, superstitious, Popish, and not to be used in any Christian Congregation.
4. That the Church of *England*, as it is now establish'd, is no true Member of the Church of Christ.
5. That the Government of the Church of *England*, as it is now establish'd, is no lawful Government, nor Christian, but Antichristian, and Popish.
6. That the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as they are administer'd in the Church of *England*, be not true Sacraments.
7. That Infants ought not to be baptiz'd according to the Form of Baptism, administered in the Church of *England*, but are rather to be kept unbaptiz'd. And that

that such as have been baptiz'd, according to that Form, are not rightly baptiz'd. 8. That the Laws Ecclesiastical, that are establish'd by Authority of the Queen and Realm, be not lawful. 9. That if the Prince or Magistrate do refuse, or defer to reform such Faults as are amiss in the Church, the People may take the reforming of them into their own Hands, before, or without his Authority. 10. That the Presbytery and Eldership may, for some Causes, after Admonition, (if there ensue no Reformation) excommunicate the Queen. 11. That the Church of *England*, (as it standeth now by Law establish'd) professeth not a true Christ, nor true Religion. That it hath no Ministers indeed, nor Sacraments indeed ; and therefore they will communicate with us, neither in Prayer nor Sacraments ; nor come to our Churches, which they call *Popish Parish Assemblies*. Thus far the *Lord Keeper*.

After such a View of their Scheme, their *Resolution* to have it *introduced*, and *persecute* for it, after it was introduced ; their Design to *strip* the *Crown* of its *Rights* and *Prerogatives*, and to *deprive* private Persons of their *Property* ; in short, to alter the whole *Constitution*

tution of the Kingdom : After all this, it cannot surprize any Man, that the Government *defended it self* against their *violent Attempts*. Since one of the two must fall, either the *Constitution*, or the *Geneva Platform*, 'tis no Wonder, if the natural Principle of *Self-defence*, and a just Regard to the *publick Welfare*, put a *wise Government* upon proper Means to secure it self. The Consequence of this was *depriving* some of them of that *Liberty* which they *abused* to the *Disturbance* of the *State*: And, in a *few Instances*, proceeding to heavier Punishments against the most troublesome and dangerous of the Party. When we have gone one Step farther, and laid a few of their *Threatnings* before the Reader, he will soon judge, whether they *themselves* did not *compel* the Government, thus to provide for the publick Safety, by proceeding against them.

In the Epistle prefixt to the *Suppli-cation* to the *Parliament*, we find these Words. "The Glory of God is not so regarded among Men as it ought to be. The *Parliament* hath hitherto rejected this Cause." And to give the deeper Impressions upon this Head, 'tis added a little after— "Are they powerful and mighty, by whom this Suit

" Suit is discountenanced? Yea, but
" notwithstanding they are but mortal,
" and they shall be made as Grass;
" and the Time will come, when it
" shall be demanded, where are they
" now that have withstood the Cause
" of God in the Parliament of Eng-
" land? Is not their Memory written
" in Water, and their Hope perish'd to-
" gether with them? To desire the
" free Passage of the Gospel in this
" Land, together with the speedy re-
" moving of all that hindreth the same,
" is to plead the Cause of that God,
" who hath controul'd Kings and great
" Monarchs, yea quite overthrown
" them and their Kingdoms, for deny-
" ing the free Use of his Service with-
" in their Dominions. Even the Cause
" of that God, who hath not only
" bridled the Rage of Tyrants, in-
" tending the Suppression of his Truth,
" but also turned that into the great
" Good of his Church, whereby they
" sought to work the Ruin thereof.
" Pharaoh, Achitophel, Sennacherib,
" Haman, came to the Grave WITH
" BLOOD, when, in the Eyes of Men,
" the most of them were likeliest to
" prevail, and the Cause of God and
" his Children unlikeliest to stand. The
" Lord in this Kingdom can do the
" like

“ like when he thinketh good.” —
 But still more expressly to point out
 the Methods of *Force* and *Violence*,
 these remarkable Words are added.
 “ The Practices of the Adversaries, I
 “ mean of our Bishops, shew manifest-
 “ ly, that these Relicks of cursed
 “ Babylon, which they maintain among
 “ us, must needs go away with a Noise,
 “ as the rest was overthrown. They
 “ will not yield to the Truth, howso-
 “ ever it hath gotten the upper Hand
 “ of them. The *Lord* must use *Vio-*
lence to throw them out, as he did
 “ against the Caterpillars their Fore-
 “ fathers, *Rev.* xviii. 19.” And to set
 a good Example, this Author de-
 clares. “ Truly, for my own Part,
 “ God aiding me, I will never leave
 “ the Suit, tho’ there should be a Thou-
 “ sand Parliaments in *my Days*, until
 “ I either obtain it at your Hands, or
 “ bring the *Lord* in *Vengeance* and
 “ *Blood* to plead against you, for re-
 “ pelling his Cause.” Agreeable to
 this, *Daniel Buck* (who, at his Ex-
 amination, *swore* he could not in his *Con-*
science come to his *Parish Church*, unless
 there was a *Reformation*) likewise de-
 posed, that he heard one *Millers*, a
 Preacher at *St. Andrew Undershaft*,
 say “ that if they did maintain the
 “ Truth,

Supplie. p. 44.

Strype's Ann.
Vol. IV. p. 175.

" Truth, they should not keep themselves in Corners, but should shew themselves publickly to *defend* the same; but he [Daniel Buck] thought that *unfit*, lest it might be a Means to stir a Rebellion.

What Construction can be put upon all this, but that *Force and Violence* was to introduce that *Holy Discipline*, which Petitions, and even *Admonitions* to the Parliament could not effectually recommend. Thus, in another admired Performance, " Remember, that one Day you must be presented before the Tribunal Seat of Jesus Christ, to be arraign'd for all the Souls that have gone to Hell (seeing you will needs be the Rulers of the Church) since the Gospel first appear'd in this Land. Then shall you not be excused with this, *The Queen and Council will have it so.* — The Truth will prevail in spite of your Teeth, and all other Adversaries unto it, (for God disdaineth to be crost by Dust and Ashes) therefore be not obstinate so long as you will be found Fighters with God, but prevent his Wrath, lest it break forth against you like Fire, that none can quench, because of the Wickedness of that Invention." Such Threatnings and Decla-

Demonst. of
the Truth of
that Discipl.
Sc. with a
Dedication to
the supposed
Governors of
the Church
of England.

Declarations as these scarce need an Explanation ; however, lest they should not be express enough to direct the *Populace inflamed thro'out the Nation*, how to act *their Part* in this *rainous Project*, wickedly call'd the *Cause of God*, the Author adds, " Do not think,
 " that because you [the Bishops] have
 " *human Authority* on your Side, there-
 " fore you are *safe*; for he whose Au-
 " thority is on *our Side* is the greatest,
 " to whose Voice all the Devils in Hell
 " shall stoop, much more the *silly Arm*
 " of *sinful Flesh*. We have fought to
 " advance this Cause of God, by hum-
 " ble Suit to the Parliament, by Sup-
 " plication to your Convocation-house;
 " by writing in Defence of it, by chal-
 " lenging to dispute for it; seeing none
 " of these Means used by us *have pre-*
 " *vail'd*, if it come in by that *Means*
 " which will *make your Hearts to ake*,
 " blame your selves; for it *must pre-*
 " *vail*, malgre the Malice of all that
 " stand out against it, or *such a Judg-*
 " *ment* must overtake this Land, as
 " shall cause the *Ears that hear there-*
 " *of to tingle*, and make us be a *Bye-*
 " *word* to all that pass by us.

Defence of
the Admonit.
p. 51. Reply,
p. 44.

Upon the same Principles, the fa-
 mous Mr. *Cartwright*, who declares an
Establishment may be made *without*
the

the *Magistrate*, told the People, "That
 " If every Hair of their Head was a
 " Life, it ought to be offer'd in *De-*
 " fence of such a Cause". Another of
 them, (*viz. Payne*) in a Letter writ-
 ten to his Friend, says, " It is more ^{Strype's Life} of Whitgift,
 " than time, to register the Names of ^{p. 333-4.}
 " the fitteſt and botteſt Brethren round
 " about their ſeveral Dwellings, where-
 " by to put *Suecanus*'s good Counſel
 " in Execution; *viz.* If the Magistrate
 " will not, then to erect it themſelves.
 " In this Point (ſaih he) we have
 " dolefully fail'd; which now or never
 " standeth us in Hand to proſecute with
 " all Celerity, without lingring and
 " ſtaying ſo long for Parliaments,
 " where Bishoply Adverſaries bear the
 " greatest Sway in God's Matters."
 Another braggeth, " of a *Hundred*
 " *Thousand Hands*; and wiſheth the
 " Parliament to bring in this Refor-
 " mation, tho' it be by withſtanding
 " the Queen's Maſteſty." Another of
 these Minifters (*Snape*) ask'd this
 Question. " What will you ſay, if we
 " overthrew the Bifhops and all that
 " Government in one Day? But (ſaih
 " he) it will not be yet in a Twelve
 " Month and a Half. Another (*Lord*)
 " ſo auſſured himſelf thereof, by ſome
 " Plot contrived by them, as that he
 " writeth

" writeth to know, how Bishops, Deans,
 " Archdeacons, Chancellors, Advo-
 " cates, Proctors, and Registers, &c.
 " may, under the Reformation, be so
 " provided for, that the Common-
 " wealth be not pester'd with Beg-
 " gars, Again (saith he) buckle with
 " the Bishops ; MASSACRE these MAL-
 " KIN's Ministers." Another of them
 (*Wright*) thus : " Let the Devil and
 " his *Deputies*, the *Bishops*, do what
 " they can : In the mean time let
 " us take our *Pennyworth* of them,
 " and not die in *their Debts.*" Twas
 observed further, as the same Au-

Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 264.

uthor informs us, " that this was the
 " *Consistorian Doctrine* ; that in this
 " very Case, Subjects might withstand
 " their Prince : That the Ministers,
 " after due Admonition, might excom-
 " municate him, as an Enemy against
 " the Kingdom of Christ. That being
 " so excommunicate, the People might
 " punish him.

It was pretty early in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* that they advanced these Maxims. The Friends of the Protestant Establishment had endeavoured, by arguing upon the Topicks of *Obedience* and *Concord*, to persuade them to a peaceable and quiet Behaviour ; to which Arguments the follow-
 ing

ing Answer is made. " They talk of ^{Part of a Re-}
 " *Obedience and Concord*, but there is ^{gister, p. 14.}
 " no Obedience against the Lord, nor
 " any Concord to be desired, but
 " where God's Glory and Verity is pre-
 " ferr'd ; else better to have *all the*
 " *World to run in burly burly*, and
 " *Heaven and Earth to shake*, than
 " one *Jot of God's Glory* should decay,
 " so far as in us lieth.

For the Reader's farther Satisfaction it may not be improper to lay before him the following Paper, preserved by Mr. *Strype*. This Piece (which contains an Account both of their PRINCIPLES and BEHAVIOUR) is found in Mr. *Strype's Appendix to the Life of Whitgift*, pag. 138. under the following Title.

The Doctrine, with some Practices of sundry troublesome Ministers in England, tending to the erecting a new pretended Discipline, and to the Overthrow of her Majesty's Government, and Prerogative, as well in Causes Civil as Ecclesiastical.

THIS (a) Discipline, is a Govern-^(a) ment in all Causes Ecclesiastical, na Sacra & Synodica, - by a Doctor, Pastor, governing Elders, Deacons, and Relievers, or Widows in S every

every Parish. And by 12 Ministers together for a Classis, or Conference : By certain Ministers and Elders out of 24 Classes for a Provincial Synod or Council ; and by certain like, chosen out of every Province, to make a National Synod, or General Assembly.

i. In the describing and handling of this Discipline, in Books of that Matter (besides their gross *Absurdities* in *Divinity*, and *Confusions*, and *Impossibilities* in *Policy*) they do impugn her Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and Government.

(b) Ibidem & omnes reliqui.

First, by (b) taking away *Nominations* to *Bishopricks* and *Deanries*, and her *Right of Advowsons* originally, and *Patronage Paramount* upon Lapses of inferior Benefices.

(c) Disciplina Synodica, Tit. de Conventib. 2d Admonit. p. 14. 31. Disciplin. Gallica, Tit. des Synodes nationaux Art. 5. (d) Theolog. Fenneri, cum Epistola T. C. Pref. p. 227.

Secondly, By (c) giving to their General Assembly, the last Appellation in Ecclesiastical, which is now made to her Highness in her Chancery.

Thirdly, By taking to themselves Authority to make Laws Ecclesiastical. For they say, That (d) the Supreme Authority, in all Matters Ecclesiastical, belongeth to their Elderships, and other Assemblies.

(e) New Book of Common Prayer p. 75. (f) T. C. Replic. p. 74.

That the Policy (e) of the Church, appertaineth to Ministers and Seniors : And (f) that without Injury to the Minister,

Minister, she cannot so much as prescribe him the Form of his Apparel.

Another of them addeth, (g) That ^{(g) Soldier of Barwick prefat. A. 4.} by the same Authority, that the Queen commandeth the one (*viz.* Ministers Apparel) she may command any Piece of *Pipery*, so that she call it *Policy*. But *Josias* and *Ezekias* knew no such Authority.

Fourthly, By (h) attributing to her ^{(h) Suecanus p. 442. J. B.} Highness and her Magistrates no more ^{lib. 2. de Po-} than the *Papists* do, *pote statem facti*, ^{lit. Civil. &} *non juris in causis ecclesiasticis*, ^{Ecclesiastic.} *viz.* That which they determine to be *Law* ^{p. 83, 97, 98,} ^{129.} and *Right*, the *Prince* and her *Officers* shall see it *put in Execution* politically.

Fifthly, (i) By giving to their Assemblies Power to call Synods when they think good.

Sixthly (k) By making her Highness subject to the Censures and *Excommunication* of their Elderships, and other Assemblies.

For else (l) she cannot be a Child ^{(l) Counter-poison 174.} of the Church.

2. They likewise, by their Plot, shake the Safety of her Majesty, and of the Realm, (m) by making certain Magistrates in every Commonwealth (as God's Institution) who shall have Authority to depose their Sovereign, ei- ^{(m) Theol. Fenner. 186.} ther

ther by War, or otherwise, if he seem to them to break the Covenant, as the *Ephori* in *Lacædemon* had.

(n) Ibid.
p. 167.

Secondly, By (n) teaching, that the Prince ought not to determine *any* Matter of Weight without the publick Assembly of all the States of the Land.

(o) T.C. Re-
ply, p. 646. Thirdly, (o) By teaching, that the Government of the *Commonwealth* must be framed to the Government of the Church, as the Hanging to the House.

(p) Omnes
illius Sectæ.

And (p) they make the Church Government partly *popular*, of all the People, and partly *Oligarchical*, of a few Ministers and Elders.

3. Again, they impair the Revenues of the Crown.

(q) Compl.
of the Com- once consecrated to God, for the Ser-
monality, c. b. First, By teaching (q) that Things
vice of the Church, belong to him
(r) 2 Admo- for ever; calling the (r) having of
nit. p. 13. Learned Dis- *Impropriations* and *Abbey-Lands*, Sa-
course p. 54. crilegio.

(s) Wal. Tra-
vers Eccles. Secondly, (s) by urging an *Immu-*
Discip. p. 87. *nity* of the *Revenues* of Persons Eccle-
b. and 88. *siaistical* from *publick Impositions*. For
cum Epistol. they call it in us *Impiety*, *Barbarous-*
T. C. præfix. *nefs* and *Covetousnefs*, worse than the
Heathens, not to set the *Priest's* Pos-
session free, as the Kings of *Egypt* did
their *Priests*, and call all yearly Ec-
clesiaistical

clerical Contributions to the Queen,
by the Name of *Robberies*.

4. *Lastly*, They abrogate or change
the greatest Part of the Laws of the
Land; and namely, for Example Sake.

First, By (*t*) urging *legem talionis*: (*t*) *Theolog.*
An Eye for an Eye, &c. *Fenner.*

p. 178.

Secondly, (*u*) By urging of Necessity (*u*) *Ibid.*
the judicial *Law of Moses*, for Penal- *p. 174, 175.*
ties of Death upon Blasphemers, dis- *176, 177.*
obedient to Parents, or that curse them,
and such like. For they hold (*x*) that (*x*) *T. C. Re-*
no Prince or Law may spare the Life *ply, p. 36.*
of any such Persons.

Thirdly, (*aa*) By teaching that *Mi-* (*aa*) *J. B. lib.*
nisters should be Judges *Juris*, what *2. de Polit.*
is Law in all Matters, and *Civil Ma-* *Civili &*
gistrates Judges only of the *Fact.* *Ecclesiast.* *p. 128, 129,*

Fourthly, By affirming (*bb*) that all (*bb*) *Demon-*
Controversies of Doctrine and Manners, *stration of*
(so far as appertaineth to Consci- *Discipline*
ence) do belong to the Determina- *p. 80.*
tion of Elderships, and other Church
Assemblies.

Fifthly, In saying (*cc*) that of all (*cc*) *2. Admo-*
other grievous Enormities laid upon *nition, p. 10.*
this Church of *England*, this is the
greatest, *That it is not lawful to utter*
that which we learn truly out of the
Scriptures; we must be in Danger of
a PRÆMUNIRE, if we follow not the
Laws of the Land, tho' they be against

the *Scriptures*, by which aforesaid they take from her Majesty, and draw to themselves all the *Prerogative Royal and Government*, as well in Civil as Ecclesiastical Causes.

5. They also deprave the Justice of the Realm, and Lords of the Council,

(dd) Epist. be as writing thus : (dd) " I will not in fore the Book " this Place charge our Council, with termed, Re- formation no " that which followeth, &c. namely, Enemy to the " that they execute no Judgment, no State, p. 4, s. cc not the Judgment of the Fatherless.

" But this I will say, that they cannot possibly deal truly in the Matter of Justice between Man and Man ; in so much, as they bend all their Forces to bereaf Jesus Christ of that Right which he hath in the Government of his Church ; by which ungodly and wicked Course, as they have held on, ever since the Beginning of her Majesty's Reign ; so at this Day, they have taken greater Boldness, and grown more rebellious against the Lord and his Cause, than ever they were.

All these Mischiefs, notwithstanding, they take the Matter very indignantly: That their (a) Suits to the Demon-Parliaments, Supplications to Convocation, writing in Defence of it, and challenging to dispute for it, have not pre-

(a) Epistle to
the Demon-

prevailed: Yet, they say, it shall prevail; (b) Malgre the Queen, Council, (b) Reformation no Enemy, b. i.
(c) and all that stand against it.

To bring to pass, that it may so prevail, they have penn'd a Book of Discipline, partly term'd *Holy*, partly *Synodical*, (d) containing Rules of (d) Discipline
their Elderships, Classes, Synods Pro- na Sacra &
vincial and National, of Publick Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, &c. wholly innovating, and changing all *Laws*, Common and Ecclesiastical, concerning Church Matters and Persons, without once naming the *Christian Magistrate*, or his Authority.

To this Book they have procured the (e) Subscription of many Ministers ; according to a Set Form of *Articles*: And it is to be fear'd, even of so many Ministers, besides others in several Countries of the Realm, as be factiously affected ; in that their Subscription, among other Things, (f) they promise to further and advance that *Discipline*, not only by Suit to the Queen's Majesty, the Council, and Parliament, but by all other lawful and convenient Means, and to guide themselves, and to be guided by it, and according to it ; what by those other lawful Means they understand, meet it were to be consider'd.

In Performance of this their Promise, they have for some Years past, set out their Classes and *Synods* of Ministers ; and (according to the said Book) have met in *Classes* every six Weeks, in a *Provincial Synod*, every half Year : In a General, or National Assembly (at *London, Cambridge, or Oxford*) every Year once ; and at Parliament Times.

(g) *Acta Clas-* In such (g) their Assemblies, they
fic. *Warwick*, have *concluded* and *decreed*, as is al-
Ann. 1588. ubi fit mentio ready come to Light, many Points in
Classis habitæ *Condemnation of the present State,*
Cantabrigia. *Laws Ecclesiastical, and Book of Com-*
mon Prayer; and for the Exercise and
setting forward of their new Discipline.

Among other Things, they have con-
(h) *Ibidem in* cluded (h) that their Discipline is to
fine. be taught to the People upon every Oc-
casion : That (as yet) the People are
not to be stirr'd up publickly to the
Practice of this Discipline, until they
be better instructed in the Knowledge of
it : Albeit, such as be of a riper and
forwarder Sort, are privately to be al-
lured to the present Exercise of it
among themselves.

According to this Determination,
they have not ceased in private and
publick Speeches and Writings, to *de-*
prave the present Laws, Governors,
and Government Ecclesiastical, and to
teach

teach and extol their own Discipline; thereby to prepare before Hand the People's Minds.

Seeing then it must (as they say) prevail, malgre all Withstanders; (i) Subscript⁽ⁱ⁾ion to the and they mention other Means to ad- Book of Dis- vance it, besides Suit to the Queen's cipline. Majesty, the Council, and Parliament; and in one Book, it is wish'd (k) that^(k) Epitome of Martin. the Parliament would bring it in, tho' it were by withholding her Majesty: What can those Means be, but the Prosecution (by Force and Rebellion) of that Plot, which Men of the same Humour have described, and follow'd in the like Case. For they (l) brag^(l) Martin Senior. of an hundred thousand Hands, to offer a Supplication; which he saith, in Policy, would not be rejected; especi- ally, standing thus in Danger of our Enemies abroad: (m) That Thou-^(m) Motion with Submis- sions, p. 39. sands sigh for it, and ten thousands have fought for it, and approved; and worthy Men of all Shires, have con- sented to it. That (n) some of these⁽ⁿ⁾ T.C. Re- Matters are such, as if every Hair of our Head were a Life, we ought to afford them, in Defence of them.

In (o) their Letters, they begin to^(o) Lord to Fenner. take Care, how such as they displace, by their Reformation, as Bishops, Deans, &c. may be provided for, so as the Com-

Commonwealth be not pester'd with
Beggars. They (p) animate one another thus. Buckle with the *Bishop.*

(q) Wright. Massacre these *Malkin Ministers*, (q)
let us take our *Pennyworths of them*,
and not dye in their *Debt.*

(r) Snape. (r) One of them ask'd this Question,
What will you say, if we overthrow the Bishops, and that Government, all in one Day?

(s) Epistle to the Demonstration. They write, (s) that if it come in by such Means, as will make your Hearts ake, you must blame your selves.

(t) Payne to Flud. And (t) That it is more than Time to register the Names of the fittest and hottest Brethren, round about their several Dwellings, whereby to put Suecanus's *Godly Counsel in Execution*, viz. If the Prince will not, then to erect it themselves. "In which Point (saith he) we have dolefully fail'd, which now or never standeth us in Hand to prosecute with all Celerity, without lingring and staying so long for Parliaments.

As they do publish these Things in their Books to the World, to possess Mens Minds thereby; so by a (u) Bill Prayer, with preferr'd to the Parliament, for Confirmation of a new Book of Common Prayer, they desire to have it also enacted thus: *That as much of all former*
(u) A Book of Common Prayer, with preferr'd to the Parliament, for Confirmation of a new Book of Common Prayer, they desire to have it also enacted thus: *That as much of all former*
a Bill put up in the lower House of Parliament Ann. 29 D. Regi- nxe nunc.

mer Laws, Customs, Statutes, Ordinances, and Constitutions, as limit, establish, and set forth to be used, any other Service, Administration of Sacraments, Common-Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Orders, or Government of the Church, within this Realm, or any other your Majesty's Dominions, or Countries, be from henceforth utterly void, and of none Effect. By which they wholly bereave the Queen's Highness of her Government and Prerogative Royal, both in Civil and Ecclesiastical Causes, and convey it over to their Church Assemblies. Thus far the fore-said Author.

"Tis a great Confirmation of the foregoing Account, that the House of Commons, as well as the House of Lords, in neither of which they wanted Friends, made an Act of Parliament " for the 35 Eliz. Cap. 1. § 1.
 " preventing and avoiding of such great
 " Inconveniences and Perils, as might
 " happen and grow by the wicked and
 " dangerous Practices of seditious Secta-
 " ries, and disloyal Persons.

Mr. N. indeed, is so thoro' an Advocate for the Puritans, that he ventures to defend, or rather applaud this Part of their Conduct, by comparing it with the Protestant Reformation. Sir Francis Walsingham

Walsingham justly accused them of not attending the Consent of the Magistrate for the Establishment of their Platform; to which Mr. N. makes a remarkable Answer, not by denying the Charge, but by alledging, they did attend, and apply for it several Years; and for those several Years they were confessedly treated with great Indulgence and Favour, " Except some few that enter'd into extream Contempt, as Sir F. W. himself alledges, they were borne with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magistrate." But this Defence of Mr. N.'s is a Confession, that, after those several Years of quiet Application were over, they did proceed to other Methods; even those mention'd by Walsingham, of Defamation, Uproar and Violence. This is directly Sir F. Walsingham's Assertion, that they were quiet at first, but grew troublesome and dangerous at last. And yet tho' Mr. N. allows and justifies this their Conduct, he flatly contradicts that upright Man, and very ungenerously loads his Memory with the Charge of *false Colourings*. To make out this Charge, Mr. N. should have proved, that they always behaved like peace-

peaceable Subjects, and not for *some Time only*; for *several Years*. 'Tis Pi-
ty he has introduced the *Reformation*
to defend and give a Credit to their
Factious Proceedings; 'tis a Prostitution
of that great Work to be employ'd in
such Service. " Let the Reader (says N's Hist.
" Mr. N.) judge by the foregoing Histo-^{p. 599.}
" ry, whether they did not attend and
" apply for the Consent of the Magi-
" strate **SEVERAL YEARS.** *And if, after*
" *all, the Consent of the Magistrate*
" *must be expected, before we follow*
" *the Dictates of our Consciences, 'tis*
" *easy to see there would have been no*
" *REFORMATION in the Protestant*
" *World.*" But, with this Gentleman's
Leave, 'tis much more easy to see, that
his Puritants ought to have attended
the Consent of the Legislature, for *ac-
complishing the Design* they had in View.
Conscience is a moving Word, and there-
fore he employs it upon this Occasion:
But what does *Conscience* mean in the
present Case, except a *strong Desire*,
and *violent Endeavours*, to force a nar-
row *Geneva Scheme* upon their Fellow-
Subjects, of different Sentiments; and
compel the *Civil Magistrate* to *persecute*
for it? 'Twas not a meer *following*
the *Dictates* of their *own Mind*, or
worshipping God *themselves* in that way
they

they thought best, but obtruding their own Platform upon the Nation, establishing it under severe Penalties, and abolishing every other Manner of Worship. Sure the Consent of the Magistrate is to be attended in such an Affair as this; the establishing a Publick Religion, and appointing sharp Punishments against *Dissenters* from it. 'Tis allowing less to the civil Powers in Matters of Religion, than even the Lord Shaftesbury does; not to grant them the Choice of the publick Worship. His Charact. vol. I. Words are very remarkable. "To de-
 " ny the Magistrate a Worship, or take
 " away a National Church, is as meer
 " Enthusiasm, as the Notion which
 " sets up Persecution." Have not the Civil Powers as much Right to chuse what shall be the publick establish'd Religion, as a private Person can have to chuse his private and particular Religion? How otherwise can a publick Worship be fix'd upon, but by publick Authority? unless we are to suppose, a Colony from Geneva is to give the Law in every State and Kingdom; and if the Legislative Powers can't approve their Scheme, and consent to it, then to introduce and establish it themselves, in Opposition to the Government, by Slander, Faction and Force. According to the

the *Divinity* of that most accomplish'd Puritan Leader Mr. Cartwright, who expresly tells us, the *Church* (by this he means his own Geneva Church) may be establish'd without the *Magistrate*.

" If, indeed (says he) the *Magistrate*, Defence of whom God hath sanctified to be a ^{the Admon.}
" Nurse unto the *Church*, were also ^{p. 51.}
" the *Head* of the same, then the
" Church could not be establish'd with-
" out the *Magistrate*. But we learn,
" that altho' the godly *Magistrate* be
" the *Head* of the *Commonwealth*, and
" the great *Ornament* unto the *Church*,
" yet he is BUT a Member of the same.
" The *Church* may be establish'd wuth-
" out the *Magistrate*." This is no
Abstract or Abridgment, but the very
Words of the Author himself; and his
Followers did accordingly act upon this
Principle, to the great Disturbance of
the publick Peace.

" Many (says Life of Grin-
" Mr. Strype) were now zealous for dal, p. 215.
" the new way of Discipline in the Ann. 1576.
" Church, conformable to that practis-
" ed at Geneva by Elders, which was
" quite different from the ancient and
" present Government by Bishops and
" their Officers. The same labour'd to
" bring in a new Form of publick Pray-
" er, in the Room of the English Li-
" turgy. Those Persons, who were for
" these

“ these Innovations, had their separate
 “ religious Meetings, and more private-
 “ ly had exercised their Discipline
 “ hitherto; but now they break out
 “ in Northamptonshire, and Warwick-
 “ shire, to act these Matters more open-
 “ ly, to the making of great Hubbubs
 “ and Disturbances, by their Endeav-
 “ our of setting it up in PARISH
 “ CHURCHES” These Proceedings to
 introduce their Geneva Discipline into
 the Parish Churches, was after the
 Sense of the Legislature was known, by
 refusing to obey their Admonitions. After
 this, Mr. Fuller gives an Account of

them in London. “ The three great
 Lib. IX. Societies, Parliament, Convocation,
 p. 173, 175. “ and Assembly of Ministers, were bu-
 “ sily employ'd: The two former of
 “ them avouched by Law, the third
 “ avouching itself. The certain Place
 “ of their convening not known, being
 “ clandestine, arbitrary, and changea-
 “ ble, as advised by their Convenien-
 “ cies; they are better discover'd by
 “ their moving, than by their meeting;
 “ and their Practices more conspicuous
 “ than their Places— The Session of
 “ Parliament broke off wherewith end-
 “ ed the Assembly of the Ministers;
 “ and now all of them had leave to
 “ depart to their own Homes; other-
 “ wise,

" wise, such Members thereof as formerly went away without leave were obnoxious to Censure. Witness one of them in his ingenuous Confession. Touching my Departure from that ^{Ibid. p. 175.} Holy Assembly, &c. without leave, &c. I crave Pardon, &c." In like Manner, we find them assembling at Cambridge, &c. making Orders and Decrees for the Government of their ^{De-Strype's Life of Whitgift.} Churches; " and (says the same History) without leave of the temporal Rulers, setting up a different Manner of Government of their own for Ecclesiastical Matters, and many Ministers, even Incumbents of Livings, had submitted thereto, and were Parts of their Synods." It appears farther, by the Examination upon Oath before the Star Chamber, that none of these ^{Examination} Ministers of Parishes were admitted to upon a Bill in the Star Chamber, to the Discipline. " And that the Life of Whitgift, Append. Classis [i. e. each Member] in Norw. &c. p. 159. &c. thampton bound themselves to be order'd and censured by the Classis, in Matters of Doctrine and Discipline. That they drew up certain Articles not only for Approval, but Use of the Treatise of Discipline." And, what induced the Government to proceed against them;

" they promis'd (as this Examinant
 " swears) the Practice thereof, so far
 " as the present State of the Church
 " would suffer; that is, *TILL the Ma-*
gistrate ENFORCE them to leave.

'Twere easy to swell the Account,
 both of the *abusive Language*, and *ille-*
gal factious Behaviour of the *second*
Generation of Puritans, which Mr. *Ful-*
ler calls *Fierce and Fiery*, who suc-
 ceeded the moderate and peaceable Ex-
 ilies; but as there is no Design to aggra-
 vate these Matters, what is already said
 will be sufficient to support Sir *F. Wal-*
singham's Assertion (if such an Autho-
 rity needs any Support) " that the
 " Comminations, Uproar, Violence and
 " Faction of the *Puritans compell'd*
 " the *State* to hold somewhat *harder*
 " Hand, to restrain them; tho' yet (as
 " that great and good Man continues)
 " with as great *Moderation* as the
 " Peace of the *Church or State* could
 " permit.

But here two Questions will probably
 be ask'd: The one, why the Govern-
 ment did not make some *Alterations*,
 to *oblige* and *quiet* the Puritans? The
 other, if an *Establishment* could not be
 granted them, why, at least, they had
 not a *Legal Toleration*? As to the
 making

making *Alterations* in favour of the Puritans, it was extreamly difficult, upon many Accounts. There were *warm* People, of other *Persuasions*, that desired different Alterations. The gratifying one Party had only been encreasing the *Importunity* of others. It was the wise *Maxim* of the Queen's Government, to preserve a *Medium* among them all; and, having once formed a moderate and comprehensive Establishment, to support that, against the *Attacks* of those who were for introducing a *particular Scheme*. 'Tis easy for Mr. N. or any other Gentleman, to draw *Plans* of Churches and Establishments, or invent *Methods* to change or to subvert and destroy them. But when these *Schemes*, which seem mighty plausible in a *private Study*, come to be laid before the *Publick*, and attempted to be put in *Execution*, *Difficulties* and *Dangers* unforeseen commonly arise, to interrupt their *Success*, and disappoint, at least, if not ruin the *Authors* of them. The *Opinions*, the *Passions*, the *Interests* of Mankind, are not so easily *reconciled* and *conducted*, as is sometimes imagin'd. Nor is it so easy a Matter to change and alter the *establish'd Religion* of a Country. It is, beyond Dispute, incumbent upon every Government,

ment, to endeavour to remove out of the publick Establishment every thing that, in their Opinion, is *really sinful*, and will expose them to the Displeasure of Almighty God, to whom Rulers, as well as Subjects, are accountable for their Conduct. But when the Dispute is, whether the *ceremonial* and *external* Parts of Religion shall be modell'd in *this* or the *other* particular *Form*, it becomes a Matter of *civil Prudence*, more than religious Duty; and the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Community*, as well as the Safety of the Government (especially when the *Title* is *disputed*) ought to have great Weight in deciding the Question. Queen *Elizabeth* found the *Papists* very watchful Enemies, and there was no Topick they insisted more earnestly upon than the *Uncertainty* and *Changeableness* of the *Protestant* Religion. The famous Abbot *Feckengham* made it the Rule by which Men were to distinguish between true Religion and the Counterfeit, which is the most *stayed* Religion, and always the most agreeable to *it self*.

It may, perhaps, have the greater Weight with Mr. N. That his *Favourite*, Strype's Appen. p. 8. *Archbishop Heath*, who (he says) spoke so elegantly and justly against the *Act of Uniformity*, declares himself of the same Opinion

Opinion with the Abbot, *that by leap-*
ing (as he calls it) out of Peter's Ship,
we hazard our selves to be overwhelm'd
and drown'd in the Waters of Schism,
Sects and Divisions. It was their com-^{Vid. Strype.}
mon Accusation of the Protestants, that
they were *inconsistent* with themselves,
and *Lovers of Novelty.* It was therefore
prudent to give such malicious *Ad-*
versaries as little Advantage as possible.
'Tis certain, indeed, that a *new Truth*
is preferable to *an old Error:* But from
hence it doth by no means follow, that
a *new Dress* was more advisable than
one the *People* were accustom'd to, at a
Juncture when, it was past Dispute, de-^{Vid. Sum of a}
signing Men would have improved the ^{Speech in the}
Alteration to the Disadvantage of the ^{House of}
Protestant Religion, as well as the ^{Commons.}
vernment; there was Hazard, as was
observed before, of driving the *Peo-*
ple by Thousands to become Atheists
or Papists. It was therefore an *Act*
of Wisdom to fix upon *King Edward's*
Plan, which had been before received;
and to *adhere to that*, when there
was nothing material objected to it.
Besides, the *Uncertainty* of the *Pu-*
ritan Demands made it advisable, for
the Government, to suspend an *Affair*
of so much *Importance* as changing the
establish'd Form of Worship, till they

who desired the Change *had fixed* upon their Alterations. At first, their Demands seemed to have been very few, till, by the Connivance of the Government, they had engaged great Part of the ignorant Populace, and some Persons of Consequence, on their Side. Flush'd with this Success, they publickly inveigh against those very Persons whose Indulgence, by allowing them considerable Stations in the Church, had given them an Opportunity thus to shew their unquiet Disposition. So far were they from being abridged of their Liberty, that they really grew giddy with it. Instead of removing the Cap and the Surplice, their first Complaint, they were for subverting the whole Constitution, and introducing a Scheme entirely new in every Part, more rigid Doctrine, a popular Discipline, and an undetermin'd Form of Worship. The Differences being so great, 'twas impossible to satisfy them, without an entire Change: And therefore, as nothing but the total Subversion of King Edward's Reformation, and the Introduction of the Geneva Platform, would content them, it would have been very imprudent, to have awaken'd other Demands, or disobliged other Persons by an useless Attempt to satisfy the Puritans, with

with making *some* Changes, when, as it appears by their *whole* Conduct, *Petitions*, *Admonitions*, &c. they could *only* be pleased with *changing* the *whole*. Besides, the *Nonconformists* seem to have had so strong a *Propensity* to *Division*, that they *split* into Parties among *themselves*; tho' it was so much their Interest, and so natural for them, as a *Minority*, to have kept united. The *Brownists* or *Independents* were fierce Adversaries to the *Presbyterians*; they treated *each other* with *almost* as severe Language as *either* of them had used to the *Church*. Such a *Division* made it still more impracticable to give them real Satisfaction, by any Changes in the Establishment. But, even *before* this *grand Division*, they were far from being agreed among *themselves*; and afterwards, when they were thus divided, each Party had its Subdivision. The Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* is above the Imputation of misrepresenting their Conduct, and is by Mr. N. number'd among their N's History, p. 201. Friends: Let us then hear his Lordship.

“ It cannot (says this great Man) Burleigh's Speech.
“ be unknown to all that have any Strype's Parker p. 458.
“ Taste of Rule, no, not to any that p. 458.
“ hath but a Family to rule, or a Ship Ann. 1573.
“ to govern, but that if the Party that
“ hath Charge to command, and they
“ whom

" whom he shall command, fall to such
 " Difference, as the Governor continu-
 " ing his Course by the ordinary Rules
 " establish'd, and the Persons underneath
 " him shall not only forbear to follow
 " his Directions, but shall, *among them-
 selves*, condemn them, and shall de-
 " vice others of their own Imagination ;
 " yea, shall, *among themselves*, devise
 " a NEW Variety of Orders, so as they
 " shall even, *among themselves*, CON-
 " TEND about their *own Inventions*,
 " not agreeing one Part with another ;
 " yea, shall I add, that which her Ma-
 " jesty findeth to be too true, if some
 " shall, when *they* have fantasied new
 " Orders at one time, at another MIS-
 " LIKE their *own*; in such confused
 " Disorders of any Government, what
 " may be thought must ensue to that
 " State ? &c.

This Speech was delivered several
 Years before the Rise of the *Brownists*,
 which Mr. N. places in the Year 1581.
 So that all this *Uncertainty* and *Varie-
 ty* attended their Schemes, even before
 that *grand Division* among them.

We find a like Account in Mr. Strype's
 Life of Whitgift, p. 247. " The Disciplina-
 rians had this Year drawn up a more
 precise and exact Platform of Disci-
 pline (as they imagined) for the
 " Govern-

Life of Whit-
gift, p. 247.
Ann. 1585.

" Government of the Church; but varying in some things from the former,
 " which, nevertheless, they affirm'd,
 " was according to the Prescript of the
 " Word of God. For about the Year
 " 1583, (when as before that time, the
 " PLATFORM of GENEVA had been fol-
 " lowed by the Puritans) a particular
 " Draught was made for England,
 " with a new Form of Common Prayer
 " to be used in Publick, therein pre-
 " scribed. The Year ensuing, in Par-
 " liament time, came forth the Plat-
 " form, amended and rectified, as a
 " most perfect Pattern for all Churches.
 " By Virtue of which Platform, all the
 " present practised Orders, Laws, and
 " Ceremonies, were to be cut off at one
 " Blow; and this was labour'd then
 " to be established. But it prevailed
 " not. Shortly after the Parliament
 " was broken up, this Platform was
 " found again to have Things amiss in
 " it; and was committed to Travers,
 " and by him underwent a new Review
 " and Correction.

It may not be improper to take Notice of one Particular, in the very Constitution of their Church, upon which they were greatly divided; the rather, because the History of the Puritans is silent upon this Head. We find there, A full and plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the Word of God, and the Declining of the same, and

the Church of England, from the same, p. 138. 151. The Book by Travers, with a Dedication by Cartwright.

and in the Admonition, only three Officers in the Puritanical Church; Pastors, Lay-Elders, and Deacons. But why does Mr. N. take no Notice of *Doctors*? Were not a considerable Party of Puritans for having Doctors, as a fourth Sort or Order of Church Officers? Were not *Cartwright*, *Travers*, and many leading Puritans, of this Opinion? Did they not make them of divine Appointment? "Let us follow (*say they*) that *certain Rule* which the *Lord* hath *prescribed*. Let *Pastors and Doctors* be assigned unto Churches, who are only the ordinary and perpetual Ministers of the Word of God, appointed to the Edification of the Church." Soon after it is added, "Let us fetch the Manner and Fashion of our examining, chusing, and ordaining, out of the Scriptures. Let *Doctors* be appointed to teach and catechise the rude and ignorant. Let *Pastors* be ordained to minister the Sacraments, and apply the general Doctrine to the particular Uses and Occasions of the Church.

Mr. Fuller makes a Remark, that *the Liturgy* was supported by its *Opposers*: In Confirmation of which, he relates a pretty remarkable Story.

Church Hist. Lib. IX.
p. 178.

"Some complain'd against the Liturgy
" to

" to the Lord *Burleigh*, of whom he
 " demanded, whether they desired the
 " taking away thereof? They answer'd,
 " No; but only the *Amendment* of what
 " was *offensive* therein. He required
 " them to make a better, such as they
 " would have *settled* in the stead there-
 " of. Whereupon,

" The first *Classis* framed a new
 " one, somewhat according to the
 " *Form of Geneva*.

" The second, DISLIKING it, alter'd
 " it in SIX HUNDRED Particulars.

" The third QUARRELL'D at these
 " Alterations, and resolved on a new
 " Model.

" The fourth *Classis* DISSENTED from
 " the former.

" Thus, because they could not agree
 " among themselves, that wise States-
 " man put them off for the present,
 " until they should present him a Pat-
 " tern with a perfect Consent.

The very *Form* of their *Subscription*
 to their *Holy Discipline* confirms this
 Account. As much *Haste* as they were
 in to *obtrude* it upon the World, it
 plainly appears from thence, it was not
 fully *agreed* and *settled* among them-
 selves. The Form of their *Subscription*
 was after *this manner*: " This Dif-
 " cipline we allow as a godly Discipline,
Appen. p. 623.
 " and

“ and agreeable to the Word of God ;
 “ (yet so as we may be first satisfied in
 “ the things here-under noted) and de-
 “ sire the same, so acknowledged by
 “ us, to be further'd by all lawful
 “ Means ; that, by publick Authority
 “ of the Magistrate, and of our Church,
 “ it may be establish'd.” A very *me-
 thodical* Proceeding ; establish it *first*,
 then settle and adjust it !

The Queen herself was so much con-
 cern'd in supporting the Protestant
Establishment, that it is but Justice to
 her Memory, since her Conduct has been
 impeached, to lay before the Reader
 the Maxims upon which that wise *Prin-
 cess* proceeded. These are preserved to
 us in an authentick MS. containing a
 Message she sent upon this Subject to
 the House of Commons.

Vid. N's Hist.
p. 481.

This ought to be quoted at length,
 because Mr. N. has given a very *im-
 perfect* Abridgment, omitting some
 of the most material Parts of it, and
 yet marks it, as if it was *exactly* and
compleatly quoted.

Life of Whit-
gift, p. 260.

Her Majesty is fully resolved, of
 her own *Reading* and Princely *Judg-
 ment*, upon the Truth of the Refor-
 mation, which we have already ; and
 mindeth not now to begin to settle
 herself, in Causes of Religion.

“ Her

" Her Majesty hath been confirmed
" in her said Judgment of the present
" Reformation, by the Letters and
" Writings of the most famous Men in
" Christendom, as well of her own
" Dominions, as of other Countries.

" Her Majesty thinks it very *unconvenient*, and dangerous, while our
" *Enemies* are labouring to overthrow
" the *Religion established*, as *false* and
" *erroneous*, that we, by new *Disputations*,
" should seem our selves to
" doubt thereof.

" Her Majesty hath fully consider'd,
" not only of the *Exceptions* that are
" made against the present Reformati-
" on, and doth find them *frivolous*,
" but also of the *Platform* that is
" desired, and accounteth it most pre-
" judicial unto the *Religion established*,
" to her Crown, to her *Government*,
" and to HER SUBJECTS.

" Her Majesty thinketh, that tho'
" it were granted, that some Things
" were amiss in the Church, yet seeing
" she is fully persuaded, and knoweth
" it to be true, that for the very *Sub-*
" *stance and Grounds of true Religion*,
" no Man living can justly controul
" them; to make *every Day NEW*
" Laws in Matters of *Circumstances*,
" and of *less Moment* (especially touch-
" ing

" ing Religion) were Means to breed
 " great Lightness in her Subjects, to
 " nourish an *unstay'd* Humour in them,
 " in seeking still for Exchanges. *Ma-*
lum est reipublicæ noxium, assuefieri
homines ad facilitatem mutandarum
legum.

But it is said for them, by Mr. N.
 tho' they, who were *no Friends* to *Toler-*
ation, did *not* say it for *themselves*, why
 shou'd not there have been an *Indul-*

gence or *Toleration* for *tender Con-*
sciences? In Answer to which it may be
 observed, that altho' a *legal Toleration*
in Form was not granted, yet they had
 an *Indulgence* that amounted to much
 more. The *peaceable* and *quiet Part*
 of them, *notwithstanding* their *Non-*
conformity, were allow'd to *hold Pre-*
ferments in the establish'd Church; and
 so *mild* and *favourable* was the *Go-*
vernment and the *Bishops*, that *many*
 who could *not* come under the *Char-*
acter of *peaceable* and *quiet*, enjoy'd
 the *same Indulgence*. " When they
 " refused the *Use* of some *Ceremonies*
 " and *Rites*, as *superstitious*, they
 " were tolerated with *much Conniv-*
ance and *Gentleness*." For this we
 have no less Authority than Sir *Francis*
Walsingham; they enjoy'd *not only* the
Freedom of a *Toleration*, but, together
 with

N's History,
 p. 140.

with it, reap'd the *Benefits* of an *Establishment*. So that, in general, great Care was taken of those tender Consciences that were accompanied with quiet Spirits ; or, according to Mr. N's own Doctrine, as far as was thought consist-^{N's History,} ent with the *Peace of the Government*^{p. 147.} they lived under. It could hardly be expected, that those whom Mr. Fuller calls *fierce* and *fiery* should be entrusted with a Power of overturning a well-concerted *Establishment*, which the Government approved of, and was determin'd to support. If these Men could enflame the Populace thro' the Nation under a *Connivance*, what could be expected from them when they acted by a *legal Authority*? As the Government, therefore, was far from thinking it advisable to subvert the established Church, 'tis no wonder they did not chuse to arm its avow'd Adversaries with Weapons for its Destruction. They themselves desired no *Toleration*, they expressly disclaim and refuse one, when something of that Sort seems to have been intended for them. There is a warm Declaration of theirs still extant upon this Point, directed to those who labour to root out the Weeds of Popery. " As for you, dear Brethren, whom Part of a Reg.
" God hath call'd into the Brunte of^{p. 18.}
" the

“ the Battle, the Lord keep you *constant*, that ye yield neither to TOLERATION, neither to any other subtil Persuasions of *Dispensations*, or *Licences*, which were to fortify their Romish Practices: But, as you fight the Lord’s *Fight*, be *valiant*. — The Matter is not so small as the World doth take it; it will appear, before all be ended, what an hard thing it is to *cut off* the Rags of the *Hydra of Rome*.—Let us not make the *Heritage of God* as a Bird of many Colours, holding of divers Religions—but rather let us *take away*, if we can, the *Names*, *Memories*, and all Monuments of Popery.” Who were meant by this Description, *in the Year 1570*, needs no Explanation. The *Bishops* and *Clergy* of the Church of *England* were then constantly represented as bearing the *Names*, and supporting the *Monuments* of Popery. Agreeably to this Exhortation of *YIELDING to no Toleration*, nor accepting any Indulgence, in all their *Petitions*, *Admonitions*, *Supplications*, &c. we see nothing of a Toleration for themselves only, but their *single Request* or *Command*, in which ever Stile they speak, is, the *absolute Overthrow* of the *established Government and Worship*, and the

the *Introduction* of their own, with *Penalties*, even *sharp Punishments* to be inflicted upon those who did not comply with it. " Both Parties (Mr. N.^N's History, says) agreed too well in ascertaining the p. 147.

" *Necessity* of an *Uniformity* of publick
" Worship, and of calling in the *Sword*
" of the *Magistrate* for the Support and
" Defence of their several Principles."

Whether the Church Party deserve to be thus *equally* charged with the other, the judicious Reader will suspend his Judgment, till Mr. N. has produced an *Instance* of above five hundred Clergymen at one time beneficed in a Puritan Church, who not only *publickly* declared their *Dislike* of its Constitution, and Dissent from it, but also *openly avow'd* their *Design* to overthrow it. However, we may take it for granted from his Account, had it not been otherwise proved, that the *Puritans* were for a *strict Uniformity*, to be supported by *Persecution*; and that a *Toleration*, either for *themselves* or for *others*, was no *Part* of their *Design* or their *Desire*.

There was a Circumstance in Queen Elizabeth's Affairs, that made it extremely difficult for her to grant a *formal Toleration* to some of her Subjects, when she refused the same to the principal Powers of Europe, who

U warmly

warmly interposed in Favour of others of them. 'Twas more advantageous for the Puritans, and more safe for her, to connive at their Nonconformity, and indulge them in the Enjoyment of Church Preferments. They are to thank themselves, if this Indulgence was in some Instances diminish'd, and their Friends are indebted to their Conduct, that the same Mildness and Indulgence were not fully continued. Had that warm Zeal, which enflam'd the Protestant Populace throughout the Nation, been employ'd to convince the Papists of their Errors, they had promoted the Interest of true Religion; they had done their Country good Service, and prevented much Trouble and Vexation to the Government; and, in all human Probability, would still have enjoyed that Favour and Indulgence, of which they had so large Experience, till their own Behaviour lessen'd it.

Mr. Rapin was so sensible of the Difficulties that attended the granting a formal Toleration, that, as much a Friend as he is to Liberty, he would not determine, whether the Puritans had Reason to complain upon that Head. "The Presbyterians (says he) think also, they have Cause to complain of the Statute enacted in this Reign."

Rapin's Eliz.
p. 225.

" Reign." ["Tis probable he means that made 35 Eliz. Cap. 1. for the preventing and avoiding of such great Inconveniences and Perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries, and disloyal Persons] " which debar'd them " from Liberty of Conscience, tho' " they were Protestants. *I shall not* " (says he) *take upon me to determine,* " whether they had Reason to complain " of this Rigour.

The Reader will observe, that in all the foregoing Account of the *Temper, Designs and Behaviour* of the Puritans, nothing is quoted from Dr. Heylin or Mr. Collier, whose Principles Mr. N. objects to, as being *too zealous* for the *Hierarchy*; tho' it is utterly impossible for any Man to be more intemperately zealous for it, than *most* of his Witnesses are against it—The State of the Evidence, therefore, between us stands thus: On the *Side* of the Puritans, this Gentleman has produced *their own* Petitions, Letters, Representations, chiefly from a Manuscript, of whose Author or Credit the World is altogether ignorant—For the *Queen, the Ministry and Bishops*, Quotations have been made in the *very Words* of the Authors; from Mr. Fuller, Bishop Burnet,

Pref. p. 15. net, and Mr. Strype, whom Mr. N. himself acknowledges the chief Ecclesiastical Historians of those Times; and from the most authentick and applauded Pieces of the Puritans themselves.

Upon the whole, it appears, by this unexceptionable Evidence, that Queen Elizabeth was really a Protestant—that she wisely fixed upon the best and most comprehensive Scheme of a reformed Church—That the narrow Platform of the Puritans was liable to strong Objections, and would have been attended with many Inconveniences—That it was not Liberty, but a Power to persecute, which they contended for—That the Queen and Bishops treated them with remarkable Lenity and Favour, and permitted great Numbers of them to enjoy Preferments in the Church, even many of the most zealous and active of the Party—That the Disturbances caused by themselves made it necessary to require a Conformity somewhat more regular—And afterwards, their violent and outrageous Attempts to subvert the Constitution, compell'd the Government to secure itself, and punish some of them.

What is said with Respect to this unquiet and troublesome Behaviour, is not intended as a Charge against every indi-

individual Person that went by the Name of a *Puritan*, but as an Account of the Principles and general Behaviour of the Party ; chiefly taken from *Writings* drawn up with their *general Consent* or *Approbation*. Nor is it pretended, that every *Action* of every Person concerned in the Administration, either in *Church* or *State*, was perfectly unexceptionable ; and therefore, 'tis no just Objection to the *settled Maxims* and Conduct of the Government, to produce in a Course of *many Years*, some Deviations from general Rules. There might, on one Hand, be Magistrates, Bishops, or Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who were *too remiss* and negligent, or some Instances, on the other Hand, where the Reins of Discipline and Government were held *too stright* : Inferior Officers likewise might sometimes be exorbitant in their Fees. The same will happen in all Courts, *Civil* as well as Ecclesiastical : But the Constitution is not therefore bad, because a *Judge*, a *Mayor*, or a *Justice of Peace*, has sometimes acted improperly ; or an Attorney or a Bailiff made an extravagant Bill or Demand. It plainly appears, that the *general Conduct* of the Governors in *Church* and *State* was very suitable to the *Times* in which they lived, and the

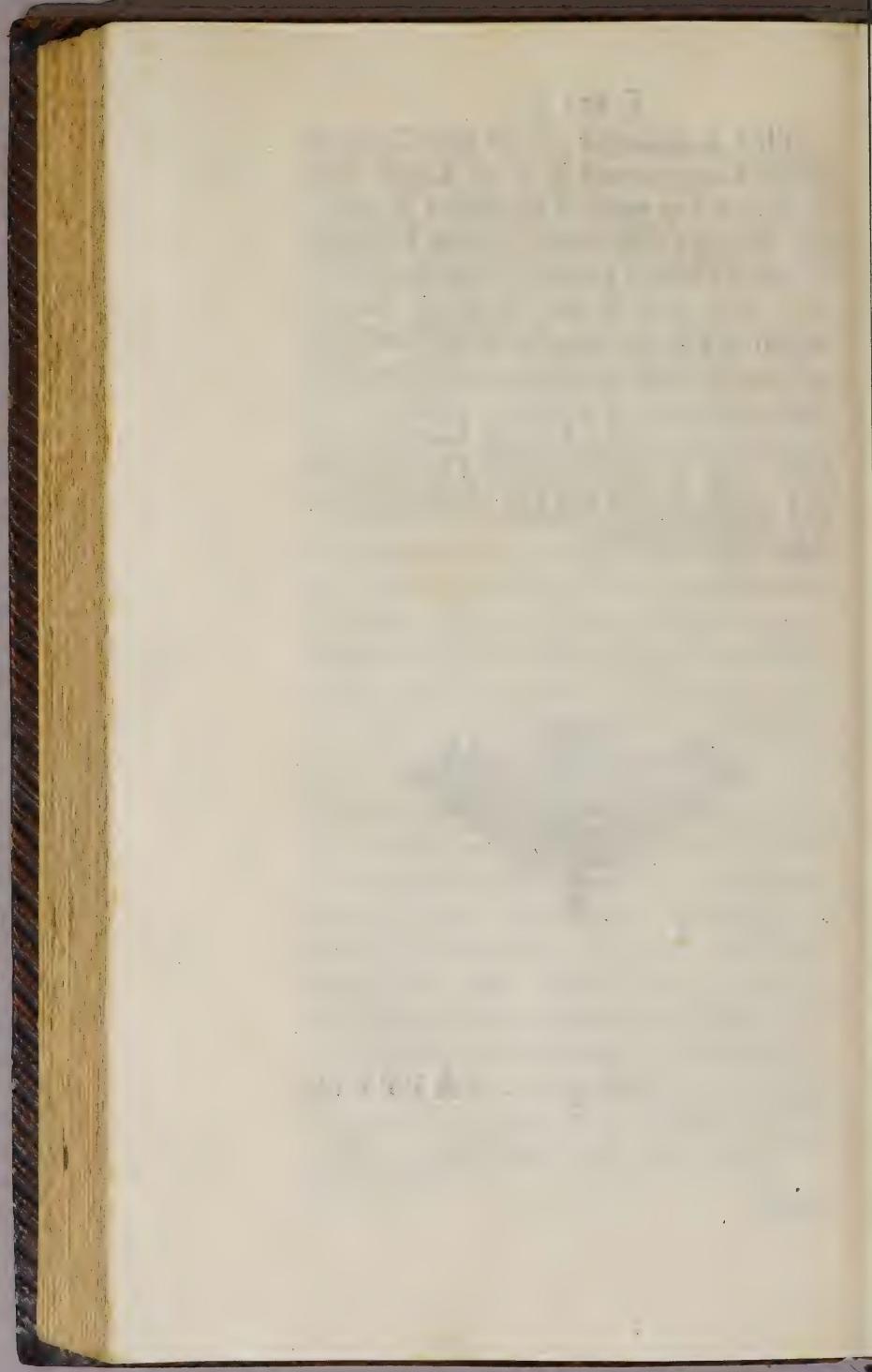
Persons with whom they were engaged. The true Question is not, how a particular *Man* acted in a particular Case? but whether the *Establishment* of the Protestant Church of *England* was founded upon a *just* and *proper Basis*? and if it was, then *they* were *culpable* who endeavour'd to *subvert* it, and justly *obnoxious* to the *State*, if they endeavour'd that *Subversion* by illegal Methods and *Violence*.

Queen *Elizabeth's* is *universally acknowledged* to be a very *wise* and *careful Administration*. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, that such an Administration endeavour'd so support so good an *Establishment*, not indeed absolutely perfect, but *greatly preferable* to any other proposed by its Adversaries. The *Queen* and her *Ministry* had too great a *Regard* both for the *Interest* of *Religion*, and the *Safety* of the *State*, not to have *some* publick *Establishment*; and when they had *one*, which was the *Result* of much *Consideration*, and had now been appointed, the *third Time*, by the *Legislature*, they would not suffer it to be violently *overthrown*, without knowing what was to be introduced in the Place of it; or how the *Throne* it self could be *safe* in such an *important Alteration*.

This

This is sufficient to set the Conduct of the Government in a just Light, and to restore the *publick Measures* to their due *Praise*; Measures! which brought so much *Honour* to that *renowned Princess*, who was at the *Head* of them; which so *effectually established* the *Protestant Religion at home*, and so *powerfully supported it abroad*; which were so *beneficial* to the *English Nation*, and have been so *justly admired* by the *best and greatest Men* the *last or the present Age* has produced.







APPENDIX.

 IS the Design of this Appendix to
to remark *some* of those Mistakes
and false Quotations to be found in
the *History of the Puritans*, which
could not, without too much Inter-
ruption, be mentioned in the former
Part of this Work. The Number might have been
considerably increased; but what is here collected,
together with the Mistakes taken Notice of before,
will be sufficient to convince the Reader, that if
Mr. N. intended an *accurate* or *impartial* History,
he has greatly fail'd in the Execution of his Design.
Were these Errors less *frequent* or less *obvious*; did
they favour *one* Side as well as the *other*, he would
have a better Title to plead *Inadvertency*. But when
his Readers observe, that his chief Mistakes are in
one Strain, viz. to blacken the Establishment, and
to heighten the Character of those that opposed it,
Mr. N. must submit to their Judgment, whether *such*
Mistakes could be involuntary and undesigned.

N's Hist. p. 2. 'The Legislature, in the 25th Year
of Edward III. passed an Act, called, a Statute of
Provisors, whereby it is enacted, That the King and
other Lords shall present unto Benefices of their
own or their Ancestors Foundation, and not the
Bishop of Rome.'

This Mr. N. quotes and marks as a *Clause* in
the Act of Parliament, whereas it is only the *Title*
of the Act, and no Clause in the Act itself. This
Gentleman is extreamly careless in quoting *Acts*
of

of Parliament. Thus, pag. 3. the Statute called, *Præmunire Enacts*, That if any (in general, Clergy or Laity) purchase Bulls, &c. from Rome. Whereas Mr. N. says, if any of the Clergy did purchase, &c. which he marks as the very Words of the Act; and so he does the Penalty—*Their Persons to be imprisoned*; but the Act says, ‘That they be attatched by their Bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the King and Council, there to answer to the Cases aforesaid; or that Proces be made against them, &c.’ In the same Page, says Mr. N. ‘The Canons of the Convocation were binding, tho’ confirmed by no Authority but their own, till the *A&t of Supremacy* took Place.’ Twas not the *A&t of Supremacy*, but another Law, called, the *Submission* of the Clergy, and Restraint of Appeals, that related to the making of Canons.

N’s Hist. p. 3. ‘John Wickliffe was born at *Wickliffe* in *Yorkshire*, about the Year 1324, and was educated in *Queen’s College, Oxford*, where he was Divinity Professor.’

Church Hist. lib. 4. p. 130. Mr. Fuller says, ‘We can give no Account of Wickliffe’s Birth, Parentage—only we find an antient Family of *Wickliff*s in the Bishoprick of *Durham*. As for this our *Wickliffe*, History, at the very first, meets with him a Man and full grown, yea, Graduate of *Merton College in Oxford*.

The Professorship of *Divinity* was founded many Years after, by *Henry VIII*.

As to *Wickliffe’s Opinions*, Mr. Fuller says, they were like the Stones on *Salisbury Plain*, falsely reported; no two can count them alike. Those he has quoted are taken from his greatest *Adversary*; and he complains what Pity it is we want *Wickliffe’s Works*, to hear him speak in his own Behalf. Mr. N. has even gone beyond the Catalogue in *Fuller*, tho’ that was compos’d by his greatest *Adversary*, and imputed Opinions to him, not to be found there; in particular, that significant Ceremonies in religious Worship are unlawful; and he has omitted several which are directly against the Notions of the Puritans. For Instance, that *Deacons* may preach. Art. 13. And that it is lawful, in Causes Ecclesiastical, and Matters of *Faith*,

Faith, after the Bishop's Sentence, to appeal to the secular Prince. Vid. N. 146. & alib. To add Credit to the Puritan Side, Mr. N. mentions Wickliffe as maintaining the same Opinions as they did; but takes no Notice how he differed from them.

N's Hist. p. 5. ' After some Time, a Controversy arose between the Houses of York and Lancaster, about the Right of Succession to the Crown, which was favourable to Wickliffe.

A little after Mr. N. says, Wickliffe died in the Year 1384. The Disputes between the Houses of York and Lancaster began in the Year 1399, when Richard II. was deposed, fifteen Years after Wickliffe's Death.

N's Hist. p. 26. Art. 5. ' The Clergy were to exhort their Parishioners to teach their Children the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, in English.

And every Incumbent was to explain these, one Article a Day, 'till the People were instructed in them. Of this useful Injunction Mr. N. takes no Notice.

N's Hist. p. 32. ' The true Cause of Cromwell's Fall was, the Share he had in the King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, whom his Majesty took an Aversion to as soon as he saw her.

Bishop Burnet expressly contradicts this. His Remark upon the King's creating him Earl of Essex, after his Marriage with Anne of Cleves, is in these Words: ' This shews, that the true Causes of Cromwell's Fall must be founded in some other thing than his making up the King's Marriage, who had never thus raised his Title, if he had intended so soon to pull him down.' Hist. Reform. Vol. I. Pag. 275.

N's Hist. p. 38, 39. ' A Form of Procession was published in English, entituled, An Exhortation to Prayer—Also a Litany—Collects were placed at the End, with some Psalms, and a Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer.

No Psalms, or Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, at the End of the Litany. There are two Editions of this Exhortation, &c. in St. John's Library, Cambridge; one printed in 1544, the other in 1546; in neither of these are any Psalms, or Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer.

N's Hist. p. 47. ' The Book of Homilies consisted of Twelve Discourses on the following Arguments.

<i>Mr. N's Titles.</i>	<i>Real Titles.</i>
1. Concerning the Use of the Scriptures.	1. A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading of Holy Scripture.
2. Of the Misery of Mankind, by Sin.	2. Of the Misery of Man- kind, by Sin.
3. Of their Salvation by Christ.	3. Of the Salvation of all Mankynde.

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kind, by Sin. |
| 3. Of their Salvation by
Christ. | 3. Of the Salvation of all
Mankynde. |

There are some other Variations in other Articles; but this is particularly taken Notice of, to shew the Sentiments of the *first* Reformers upon *universal* Redemption. One of the Injunctions that follow confirms this, where it is directed, that *Erasmus's* Paraphrase should be set up in every Church.

N's Hist. p. 49. ' How sadly this Bidding of Prayer has been abused of late by some Divines, to the ENTIRE Omission of the Duty it self, is too well known to need a Remark.

Are there no Prayers then in the Church of England, unless they are offered by the Minister in the Pulpit? The most that can be inferred is, that the Clergyman who preaches does not use any Prayer in the Pulpit, except the Lord's Prayer. But sure the Duty of Prayer is not entirely omitted, when almost an Hour has been before employed in that very Duty.

N's Hist. p. 50. ' The Parliament that met, November 9. (the Statute-Book says November 4.) made an Act concerning the Admission of Bishops into their Sees, which sets forth, that the Manner of

of chusing Bishops by a *Conge d'Elire*, being but the Shadow of an Election, all Bishops hereafter shall be appointed by the King's Letters Patents only, and *shall continue the Exercise of their Jurisdiction DURANTE BENEPLACITO, or durante vita naturali, si tamdiu se bene gesserint.*

'Tis a strange Liberty this Gentleman takes with the Laws of his Country. Is there a single Word like this in the Statute it self, or in B. Burnet's Abridgment of it? The Words of this Statute, i Edw. 6.c. 2. are these: 'Be it Enacted — That from henceforth no *Conge d'Elire* be granted, nor Election of any Archbishop, or Bishop, by the Dean and Chapter made, but that the King may, by his Letters Patents, at all Times, when any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick is void, confer the same to any Person whom the King shall think meet; the which Collation so by the King's Letters Patents made and delivered to the Person to whom the King shall confer the same, Archbischoprick or Bishoprick, or to the sufficient Proctor and Attorney, shall stand to ALL Intents, Constructions and Purposes, to as much and the same Effect, as tho' *Conge d'Elire* had been given, the *Election* duly made, and the same confirmed, and thereupon the said Person to whom the said Archbischoprick, Bishoprick, or Suffraganship, is so conferred, collated, or given, may be consecrated, and sue bis Livery, or *Ouster le main*, and do other things, as well as if the said Ceremonies and *Elections* had been done and made.' Mr. N. adds in the same Page, 'One of the first Patents with this Clause is that of Dr. Barlow — in the Second Year of the King's Reign; but all the rest of the Bishops afterwards took out Letters Patents for their Bishopricks with the same Clause.' Bishop Burnet, Vol. II. p. 150. in the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, says, Ridley and Thirlbey were made Bishops of London and Norwich. 'Both were, according to the common Form, to be Bishops *durante vita naturali, during Life.*' Mr. N. goes on: 'In this the Archbishop had a principal Hand; for it was his Judgment, that the Exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince; and that as he

‘ he gave it, he might restrain it, or take it away at his Pleasure.’ This Assertion is supported by no Quotation; and yet Mr. N. affirms in his Preface, he has cited his Authorities in the Margin. The Act of Parliament above quoted sufficiently explains the Nature and Design of these Letters. Bishop Burnet makes the following Remark upon the Subject.

Hist. Reform.
p. 218.

‘ By these Letters Patents it is clear, that the Episcopal Function was acknowledged to be of divine Appointment; and that the Person was no other way named by the King, than as *Lay Patrons* present to Livings; only the Bishop was legally authorized in such a Part of the King’s Dominions to execute that Function, which was to be derived to him by *Imposition of Hands*. Therefore here was no Pretence for denying that such Persons were true Bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the King.’

In the next Page, 51. Mr. N. asserts a Fact absolutely false, which he pretends to ground upon the same Statute (*viz. 1 Edw. 6. c. 2.*) that was or ought to have been before him. His Assertion is this: ‘ By this Law Causes concerning Wills and Marriages were removed into the Courts of Westminster Hall.

The Reverse of this is true; these Causes were continued in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the manner of Proceeding there only regulated. The Words of the Statute are these: ‘ Be it enacted, that all Summons and Citations, or other Process Ecclesiastical in all Suits and Causes of Instance betwixt Party and Party, and all Causes of Correction, and all Causes of Bastardy or Bigamy, or *Inquiry de jure patronatus*, Probates of Testaments, and Commissions of Administrations of Persons deceased; and all Acquittances of and upon Accounts made by the Executors, Administrators, or Collectors of Goods of any dead Person, be from the first Day of July next following made in the Name, and with the Seal of the King, as it is in Writs original or judicial, at the common Law. And that the Teste thereof be in the Name of the Archbishop or Bishop, or other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, &c. How manifest is the Absurdity, to suppose the Teste of

of a Writ from *Westminster Hall* could be in the Name of a *Bishop*, who had no manner of Authority or Jurisdiction there ! And how obvious therefore must it be, that *Process Ecclesiastical*, with a *Teste* from a *Bishop*, could only be in Ecclesiastical Courts ! What an Idea do such Misrepresentations give of the *History of the Puritans* ? What Treatment of private Writers are we to expect, when an Author allows himself to give such Accounts of *Acts of Parliament* ?

P. 53. Mr. N. has mistaken the Communion Offices published in the Years 1548 and 1549. He gives an imperfect Account of that published in 1548, leaving out several Parts of it, viz. the Exhortation to make Confession ; several Texts of Scripture still used upon that Occasion ; and, after these, the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. This Form he mentions as Part of the publick Liturgy, whereas that published with the Liturgy, in 1549, differed in several material Particulars from that of 1548. A Copy of which is in St. John's Library Cambridge. The Rubric to this Office of 1548 says, *that the Time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying any other Rite or Ceremony of the Mass, until other Order shall be provided.* Which was otherwise ordered in the Year following, for then Auricular Confession was struck out ; the Priest took the Sacrament, and, without reading any Exhortation after taking it himself, gave it to the People, as now directed in our present Liturgy.

P. 56. contains an Account of the Disputes about the Vestments. It has been already observed, that Mr. N. has suppress'd part of Bishop Burnet's Reasoning upon that Subject, for the Habits ; he has at the same time added to that Account the Bishop gives of the Arguments against the Habits ; but the worst Part is, the rude and uncharitable Censure he passes upon those Divines who were willing to make the Communion of the Church as extensive as they could-- He describes them in this Manner : ' Those Divines ' that had stay'd in *England*, and weathered the Storm
‘ of

of King Henry's Tyranny, by a politic Compliance,
and Concealment of their Opinions." For this
Language, he quotes no Author.

N's Hist. p. 57. "It ought to be observed, that
this Service-Book was not laid before the Con-
vocation, nor any Representative Body of the
Clergy: And whereas it is said to be done by one
uniform Agreement, 'tis certain, that Four of the
Bishops employed in drawing it, protested against it.

Whether this Book had the formal Appro-
bation of the Clergy in Convocation, or not, 'tis
certain by the Preamble, that the *Archbishop of Canterbury, and other learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned Men of this Realm, did conclude, set forth, and deliver to the King the Book of Common Prayer, &c.* As to the protesting Bishops, it
had been more unexceptionable, if Mr. N. had quoted
the whole Sentence relating to that Matter from
Bishop Burnet; which runs thus. "Others censured
the A&E, because it was said to be done by uni-
form Agreement, tho' Four of the Bishops, that
were employed in the drawing of it, protested
against it. These were the Bishops of *Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster.*" Here
Mr. N. stops, tho' the Bishop goes on, "But these
had agreed in the main Parts of the Work, tho'
in some few Particulars they were not satisfied,
which made them dissent from the whole."

Burnet Vol. II.
p. 117.

P. 59. "The Popish Rebels (he says) sent the
following Articles or Demands to the King.
Some of these Mr. N. omits, and curtails others,
particularly that remarkable one, which is the 7th
with him, but really the 10th, "That the Bible
should be called in, and prohibited." To which
he should have added their Reason, since otherwise
the Clergy could not so easily confound the Heretics.
When Mr. N. was giving an Account of the Norfolk Rebellion, it had been very proper to have men-
tioned the following Passage, which lay before him
in Bishop Burnet. "Parker, afterwards Archbishop
of Canterbury, came among the Rebels, and
preached very freely to them of their ill Lives,
their

Ibid. p. 118.

their Rebellion against the King, and the Robberies
they daily committed, by which he was in great
Danger of his Life.

N's Hist. p. 60. ‘ Complaint being made to the Council, April 12. of some Anabaptists that fled out of Germany into England from the Rustic War, a Commission was ordered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and some other Divines, any three being a Quorum.

This differs in several Particulars from his Author.
On the 12th of April, there was a Complaint Burnet Vol. II. brought to the Council, that, with the Strangers p. 111. that were come into England, some of that Persuasion [Anabaptists] had come over, and were disseminating their Errors, and making Proselytes; so a Commission was ordered for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminister, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, (were these Divines?) Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and some others, three of them being a Quorum.

P. 65. ‘ The same Orders (viz. a Letter from the Council, to take away Altars) were given to the rest of the Bishops, as appears by the Collection in Bishop Sparrow.

No mention of any such thing in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, which, in King Edward's Reign, has the King's Injunctions, Order of Communion Service, Archbishop Cranmer's and Ridley's Articles of Visitation, the Articles of Religion in English and Latin, and no more.

The Reasons given by Mr. N. are different in many Respects from those Bishop Burnet says were given by the Council, in their Letter to Bp. Ridley. Mr. N. says, his were the Reasons for the Alteration. Quære where he met with them? no Authority mentioned but Bishop Burnet, who gives other Reasons.

N's Hist. p. 68. ‘ By the Oath Hooper refused, is meant, the Oath of Supremacy.

Mr. Fuller, on the contrary, says, ‘ what this Oath
was (because not express) is variously conjectured;
Parsons, to render Hooper more odious, will have it
the Oath of Supremacy; which, in my Opinion, is
improbable, it being utterly unlikely, that the King
would dispense with any from taking that Oath,
wherein his own Dignity was so nearly concerned.
I conceive the Oath of canonical Obedience, &c.

N's Hist. p. 69. Here is a very imperfect Account
of the Reasons Bishop Ridley gave for the Habits; at
the same Time, Additions made to those given by
Bishop Hooper against them. They are both to be
found in Fuller's Church History, Lib. VII. 404.
This Dispute, raised by Bishop Hooper, was the
Foundation of the Puritanical Controversy; and
therefore we are not to be surprized, that Mr. N.
should be very zealous in the Affair.

P. 70. Mr. N's Words are these: ‘ In which
Time (says Bishop Burnet) the Matter was in
some sort compromised. Hooper consenting to
be robed in his Habits at his Consecration, and once
at Court, but to be dispensed with at other times.

Hist. Reform.
Vol. II. p. 166.
The Bishop's Words are these, and no other: ‘ The
Business of Hooper was now also settled. He was
to be attired in the Vestments that were prescribed
when he was consecrated, and when he preached
before the King, or in his Cathedral, OR IN ANY
PUBLICK PLACE; but he was dispensed with upon
other Occasions.’ Bishop Hooper, therefore, of
whom so great a Character is given by Mr. N.
is to be added to the conforming Clergy. He
publickly wore those Vestments the Puritans re-
fused; and was so absolutely against them, upon the
Article of Episcopacy, that, with the Bishoprick of
Gloucester, he afterwards held the Bishoprick of Wor-
cester in commendam. A Circumstance Mr. N.
thought fit to suppress.

Fuller's
Church Hist.
Lib. VII.
p. 404.

But Mr. N. mentions others with him p. 71.
‘ Most of the reforming Clergy were with Hooper
in this Controversy.

He

He particularly names the Bishops *Latimer* and *Coverdale*; Dr. *Taylor*, *Philpot*, and *Bradford*; he then adds, and others, who laid down their Lives for the Protestant Faith: And, to bring them all in, he says, soon after, *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in some Ordinations dispensed with the Habits. He apprehended very justly it would add great Credit to the Puritan Side of the Question, if all those pious Martyrs who suffered in Queen *Mary's* Reign were supposed to be Puritans. But this is an Honour of which all his Management can't rob the Church of *England*; they died Members of that *Church*, for that Faith, Government, and Worship, which were established in King *Edward's* Reign. These they approved after they *Memoir*. were in Prison, and for these they offered to dispute. *Cranmer*.

But let us examine his Catalogue; the first is Bishop *Latimer*. Here Mr. *Fuller* directly contradicts him:

' Nor (says that Historian) have we any Cause to Church Hist.
' suspect *Latimer* of *Hooper's Opinion*, as distastng Lib. VII.
' Ceremonies.' *Coverdale* was consecrated Bishop, p. 405.

and continued so all this Reign; afterwards he removed to *Geneva*, where he contracted some Affection to their Form; but so little was he with them in all Points, that, even after his Return, he assisted at the Consecration of an *Archbishop*, Dr. *Parker*. Those that follow, Dr. *Taylor*, *Philpot* and *Bradford*, all died Members of the Church, and continued beneficed in it, 'till they were deprived in Queen *Mary's* Time. The Habits put upon *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, &c. when they were degraded, were those they had when they were ordained by the Popish Bishops in King *Henry's* Reign; not those retained in the reformed Church of *England*, which were distinguish'd from the other. The Dislike they express at their Degradation was to those Popish Habits.

' All that ludicrous Burnet Vol. II.
' Attire was taken, Piece after Piece, from him, p. 333.

' *Cranmer*, according to the *Ceremonies* of Degradation which are in Use in the Church of *Rome*.'

As to Bishop *Hooper* in particular, his Objection seems chiefly to the *Academical Dress*, the scarlet Chimere, and the square Cap; nor did Bishop *Hooper* ever repent of his Submission to the Habits. But foreign Divines are in like manner produced, in order to support this Cause.

P. 69. ‘Hooper (says Mr. N) not willing to rely upon his own Judgment, writ to Bucer at Cambridge, and to Peter Martyr at Oxford, who gave their Opinions against the Habits, as Inventions of Antichrist.

Bishop Burnet has given a large Account of what Bucer wrote upon this Head. As a Proof of Mr. N’s manner of Writing, the Reader shall have the very Hist. Reform. Words. ‘ Since these Garments had been used by Vol. II. p. 153. ‘ the ancient Fathers, BEFORE POPERY, and might

still be of good Use to the Weak, when well understood, and help to maintain the ministerial Dignity, and to shew that the Church did not of any Lightness change old Customs, he (Bucer) thought the retaining of them was expedient.’ In the next Page Bishop Burnet says, Peter Martyr was also wrote to, and, as he wrote to Bucer, he was fully of his Mind, and approved of all he had wrote about it. Bucer further observes, ‘ that since these Garments were abused by some to Superstition, and by others, to be Matter of Contention, he wish’d they were taken away, &c.’ Mr. N. ibid. says, that Bucer’s Opinion was, that ‘ Hooper might acquiesce in the Use of them for a Time, ’till they were taken away by Law.’ Bishop Burnet, on the contrary, says it, as Part of his Letter, ‘ On the whole Matter, he thought they finned who refused to obey the Laws in that Particular.’ This Mr. N. asserts to be giving an Opinion against the Habits, as Inventions of Antichrist!

N’s Hist. p. 73. ‘ John Alasco did not please the Court Prelates.

Tis no Wonder he did not, for as Bishop Burnet observes, ‘ he did not carry himself with that Decency which became a Stranger, so kindly received.’ But why Court Prelates, or any thing that is intended for a Term of Reproach to those pious Reformers, Cranmer, Ridley, &c.?

N’s Hist. p. 74. ‘ The Articles [of Religion] were not brought into Parliament, nor agreed to in Convocation,

vocation, as they ought to have been, and as the Title seems to express.

This is entirely confuted by Archbishop *Wake*, who has examined this Matter very fully; his Conclusion is this: ‘ These Articles were prepared by the Au- State of the thority of the King and Council, and were agreed Church, to in Convocation; and there subscribed by both p. 599, 600. Houses; and so presently promulgated by the King’s Authority, according to Law.

But Mr. N. goes on: ‘ When this (the Publication of the Articles with such a Title) was objected to, by Archbishop *Cranmer*, as a Fraud, in the next Reign he owned the Charge, but said he was ignorant of the Title, and complained of it to the Council, &c.

Together with the Articles, was published, a Catechism; and what Mr. N. relates as concerning the *Articles*, belonged only to the *Catechism* which was annexed to them. *Weston’s Words to Cranmer*, as related by *Fox*, are, ‘ Also you have set forth a Catechism in the Name of the Synod of London.’ To which *Cranmer* reply’d, ‘ I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title.’ The Catechism being joined with the other, it was, it seems, understood as if both were agreed upon in Convocation; and so it was objected to *Cranmer*. In like Manner it was observed by the Judges in *Ridley’s Disputation* in the Acts and Schools at Oxford, that the Catechism was so set Monum. forth, as tho’ the whole Convocation had agreed to p. 969. it. But this does not relate to the Articles.

N’s Hist. p. 75. ‘ The next Work the Reformers were employed in a second Correction of the Common-Prayer Book——The daily Service began with a short Confession of Sins.

Not so; the Daily Service, in the Review, began, as it does now, with the Sentences and Exhortation; then followed the Confession, &c. Vid. Book of Common-Prayer 1552. Bishop *Burnet* does not say the Service began with the Confession; but that in the Daily Service they prepared a short, but most simple and grave Form of a general Confession of Sins. But Mr. N. goes on. Hist Reform. Vol. II. p. 169.

' The Communion began with a Rehearsal of the
 ' Ten Commandments.' A Mistake. The Com-
 munion began with the Prayer, ' Almighty God,
 ' unto whom all Hearts, &c. *Vid. Liturgy 1552.*
 Again, ' A Pause was made between the Rehear-
 ' sal of every Commandment, for the People's De-
 ' votions.' The same *Responses* were made as in
 our present Liturgy. Bishop Burnet describes it in
 this manner. A Stop was made at every Com-
 mandment for the People's Devotion of imploring
 Vol. II. p. 170. Mercy for their past Offences, and Grace to observe
 it for the Time to come. *See also* *Reformation of the Church of England*.

N's Hist. p. 79. ' A Passage was left in the Pre-
 face of one of their Service-Books, to this Pur-
 pose; *That they had gone as far as they could, in*
reforming the Church, considering the Times they
lived in; and hoped that they that came after them,
would, as they might, do more.

Where is this to be met with? Is there any Pre-
 face in King Edward's, Queen Elizabeth's, King
 James's, or the last Review, that has this Passage?

P. 80. Mr. N. gives a long Account of *Martin Bucer's Sentiments*. He places these in *the Year 1553*, AFTER the Review of King Edward's Liturgy; and he quotes Bishop Burnet, Vol. 2. p. 156. for his Authority. The Account Bishop Burnet gives of this Matter is BEFORE the Review in the Year 1550. ' Now (says the Bishop) a Review of the Common-Prayer Book was set about: *Martin Bucer was consulted in it; upon which Bucer writ his Opinion.* The Substance of it was, that he found all things in the Common Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures.' However, he advised several Alterations, which the Bishop enumerates, and then adds, ' All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered; and that almost, in every Particular, the MOST MATERIAL things which BUCER objected to were Corrected afterwards.'

After these Corrections were made, viz. in the Year 1553, Mr. N. introduces *Bucer* as proposing, that

that the old Popish Habits might be laid aside; when he himself had told us from Mr. Strype, that the Year before 1552, ‘ All Copes and Vestments were forbidden throughout England. The Prebendaries of St. Paul’s left off their Hoods, and the Bishops their Crosses, &c. as by A&t of Parliament is more at large set forth. N’s Hist. p. 76.

What Management is this, in order to make so great a Man as Bucer object to those very things which were altered by his Advice and Direction? Bucer, as appears in Bishop Burnet, objected in the Year 1550 to the first Liturgy, which was accordingly altered. Mr. N. places his Objections in 1553, which could only be against the Book corrected by his Advice, the second Liturgy.

N’s Hist. p. 81. ‘ Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the Liturgy, tho’ it had been twice reformed, if we may give Credit to the learned Bullinger, who told the Exiles at Francfort, that the Archbishop had drawn up a Book of Prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then in Being; but the same could not take Place, for that he was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, and other Enemies.

This groundless Story Mr. N. mentions without the least Appearance of Distrust, tho’ the Author from whom he takes it calls it an improbable Re-Strype’s Life port. The same Author has given us the real Sentiments of the Archbishop. ‘ The Great and Good Strype’s Ann. Archbishop Cranmer’s Judgment of K. Edward’s Eliz. Vol. I. Book of Common-Prayer may deserve here to p. 86. have a Place. When Bishop Gardiner would have fortified his corrupt Doctrine of the Sacrament out of that Book, and asserted, that the receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ into our Mouths, was a Teaching set forth there, and there Catholicly spoken of, the said Archbishop thus answered, That the Book of Common-Prayer neither used any such Speech, nor taught any such Doctrine; and that he [the Archbishop] did not in any Point improve [i. e. disprove] that Godly Book, nor vary from it; and that no Man could mislike it, that had any Godliness in him joined with

Mem. *Cran.* ‘ with Knowledge.’ Again the same Author, ‘ It was a brave and generous Act, worthy the Chief Bishop of the *Englifh* Church; I mean, that publick Challenge which he made to maintain the *Common-Prayer Book*, and other Parts of the Reformation [*preces communes Ecclesiasticas, administrationem sacram cum ceteris Ritibus & Ceremoniis, Doctrinam universam ac Religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro Domino Rege Edwardo sexto*] by the Scripture and Fathers, in open Disputation against whomsoever, if the Queen so pleased to permit him.’ This public Challenge is found in Bishop *Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 249. Append. Thus plain it is, that Archbishop *Cranmer* had no such Sentiments of the Liturgy as are imputed to him.

N’s Hist. p. 96. ‘ It is said, that Cardinal *Pool* was for gentler Methods of Instruction and Persuasion, which is very doubtful.

Doubtful with whom, but such as are unwilling to allow any good Qualities in an Adversary? Men so different as Mr. *Collier* and Mr. *Rapin*, concur in a good Opinion of the Cardinal’s Moderation. The latter expresses himself in this manner. ‘ *Pool* was of Opinion, that gentle Methods were to be made use of, rather than Force; thinking that this would only inflame, instead of removing the Distemper; and that the most that could be expected from it would only be the increasing the Number Church Hist. of *Hypocrites*.’ *Rapin* Vol. VIII. p. 180. *Fuller* Lib. VIII. speaks to the same Purpose; and Bishop *Burnet* confirms this Account of Cardinal *Pool*, giving him the Hist. Reform. Character of a learned, modest, humble, good-natured Vol. II. p. 367. Man; gentle to the reformed: The Candour of the Bishop upon this Occasion deserves our Notice. ‘ I have dwelt the more copiously (says he) upon C. *Pool*’s Character, being willing to deny to none of whom I write the Praifes that are due to them.’ But the *History of the Puritans* would not imitate such an Example, nor suffer the Cardinal’s known Character to pass, tho’ no Authority is quoted, nor any Reason given against it.

N’s Hist.

N's Hist. p. 102. ' The Number of them who suffered Death for the reformed Religion in Queen Mary's Reign were no less than 277 Persons.

This Account of the Sufferers is taken from Col. Eccl. History, lier's History, tho' not quoted, whom Mr. N. himself p. 397. declares of *suspected Authority* (Preface p. 15.) Bishop Burner reckons 284. But Mr. Strype has preserved Memor. an exact Catalogue of the Numbers, the Places, the Vol. III. p. 291. Times of the Executions. The general Sums are as Append. follow.

Ann.	1555	71	}	Total 288, besides those
	1556	89		that dyed of Famyne in
	1557	88		sondry Prisons.
	1558	40		

N's Hist. p. 108. ' The Exiles were most numerous at *Francfort*, where that Contest and Division began which gave rise to the Puritans.

So much has been wrote upon the unhappy Controversy at *Francfort*, that it is needless to detain the Reader long upon that Subject. Mr. N. says, Dr. Cox and his Friends discovered an ill Spirit in that Affair, and lays the whole Blame upon those pious Exiles, who were persuaded, that it was doing great Injury to their suffering Brethren in *England*, to pour Contempt upon King *Edward's* Reformation, when they were laying down their Lives for it; and that this would give their Adversaries an Opportunity to charge them with Inconstancy, and to triumph over them. It is allowed by Mr. N. himself, that the Majority of the *Congregation* forbade Mr. *Knox* to preach: That the Magistrates desired him to remove out of the City of *Francfort*: That the same Magistrates, who could not be thought partial to Dr. Cox and his Friends, allowed them the use of the Church, and likewise permitted them the free Use of King *Edward's* Service-Book, which the other Party said would not be allowed. *Grindal* is likewise an unexceptionable Evidence in this Case; he writes thus to Bishop *Ridley* from *Francfort*: ' The greatest Life of *Grindal* Number is at *Francfort*, where I was at this present *dal*, p. 12. by Occasion: A very fair City, the Magistrates favourable to our People, with so many other Commodities

modities as Exiles can well look for: Here is also
 a Church; and now (God be thanked) well quieted
 by the Prudency of Maister Cox and others which
 met here for that Purpose: So that now we trust
 God hath provided for such as will fly forth of
Babylon, a resting Place, where they may truly
 serve him, and hear the Voice of their true Pastor."

This Letter bears Date May 6. 1555. Those who were first at *Francfort* took Possession of the Church, as Mr. N. admits, July 29. 1554. In nine Moncks therefore, at most, after that Possession, Dr. Cox and his Friends had setteld the Church at *Francfort*; and yet Mr. N. affirms, that "he brought in the Service-
 Book, with a high Hand, by which those who had
 been in Possession of the Church *almost two Years*,
 were obliged to depart the City, and set up their
 Worship in another Place." Mr. N. would have
 it thought, that those few Persons who first arriv'd at
Francfort had a better Right to the Church there than the rest of their Countrymen: The Magistrates of

Troubles of
Francfort,
 p. 24.

Francfort were more hospitable than this: "A general Grant was made at their first coming thither to
 the whole Nation." So that the few Families who first arrived there were blameable for departing from their suffering Countrymen, and going upon a new Plan; and not the Congregation, afterwards more numerous, for preferring a Form which had so many Arguments, especially at such a Juncture, to recommend it. Bishop Burnet gives the following candid

Hist Reform. Account of this Matter. "At *Francfort* an unhappy
 Vol. II. p. 339. Difference fell in among some of them who had

used before the *English* Liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it, when they were in *England*, where it had Authority from the Law; yet they thought, that, being in foreign Parts, they should rather accommodate their Worship to those among whom they lived: So, instead of the *English* Liturgy, they used one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms. Others thought, that when those in *England* who had compiled their Liturgy were now confirming what they had done with their Blood, and many more were suffering for it, it was an high Contempt of them and their Sufferings, to depart from these Forms. This Contradiction raised that Heat, that

Dr. Cox,

‘ Dr. Cox, who lived in *Strasburgh*, with his Friend Peter Martyr, went thither; and being a Man of great Reputation, procured an Order from the Senate, that the *English* Forms should only be used in their Church. This Dissentition being once raised, went farther than perhaps it was at first intended: For those who at first liked the *Geneva* Way better, that, being in foreign Parts, they might all seem to be united in the same Form, now began to quarrel at some things in the *English* Liturgy; and Knox being a Man of a *hot Temper*, engaged in this Matter very warmly, and got his Friend *Calvin* to write somewhat sharply of some things in the *English* Service: This made Knox and his Party leave *Francfort*, and go to *Geneva*. Knox had also written indecently of the Emperor; which obliged the Senate of *Francfort* to require him to be gone out of their Bounds— Certainly they began the Breach, who departed from the Way of Worship which they acknowledged was both lawful and good; but there followed too much Animosity on both Sides.

This Warmth continued, after they removed *Strype’s Mem.* from *Francfort*, as appears from a remarkable Letter of *John Bale*, late Bishop of *Ossory*, who was p. 243. now removed from *Francfort* to *Basil*, with many others, upon the Dissentions there. He wrote to Mr. *Ashley*, who enquired into the State of the Church at *Basil*. ‘ The State of our Church is troubulous at this present—The Apostles said, that in latter Times should come Mockers, Liars, Blasphemers, and fierce Despisers: We have them, we have them, Master *Ashley*, we have them then, even from among our selves: Yea, they be at this present our Elders, and their factious Affinity. When we require to have Common Prayers, according to our *English* Order, they tell us, that the Magistrate will in no Case suffer it; which is a most manifest Lye: They mock the Rehearsal of God’s Commandments, and of the Epistles and Gospels in our Communion, and say they are misplaced. They blaspheme our Communion, calling it a Popish Mass, and say, that it hath a Popish Face, with other fierce Despisings—

spisings—With these they build, with these they boast; and with these they triumph, in erecting their Church of *the Purity*—The Face of a Popish Mass is the Shew of the whole Action, with the Instruments and Ceremonies thereunto appertaining — Our Communion beginneth with Prayer unto God in the Mother Tongue; so doth not the Mass: It sheweth us the Commandments of God; it teacheth us the necessary Articles of our Christian Faith; so doth not the Mass. It bringeth both the Law and the Gospel to shew us both Damnation and Redemption; so doth not the Mass. It moveth us to acknowledge our Sins, it stirreth us up to Repentance for them; it exhorteth us to Mortification of our sinful Flesh; so doth not the Mass. It preacheth the Lord's Death till he come; it calleth for a worthy Preparation for so heavenly a Supper. It promiseth full Remission of our Sins, thro' Christ's gainful Sufferings; so doth not the Popish Mass. It giveth high Thanks to God for our Redemption; it praifeth the Eternal Majesty for the same, and wisheth the true Receivers to depart from thence in his most holy Peace and perpetual Blessing, and continue always; so doth not the abominable Mass. Ergo, our holy Communion hath not the Face of a Popish Mass, as our new Catharites have most wickedly, maliciously, mockingly, falsely—written to their Affinity or Proselytes.— Thus, tho' we be not in *England*, among the wicked Papists now, yet are we molested of idle Brethren, as wickedly occupied as they, tho' in another kind. The Times are perilous. Thus farewell in the Lord, &c.

This *John Bale* is a Witness entirely unexceptionable, being, as Mr. N. himself says, one of those who signed a Letter with *John Knox*, against having the Church at *Franckfort* reduced to King *Edward's* Form.

The Concern it gave their suffering Brethren in *England*, to see King *Edward's* Form thus renounced, was not an imaginary Inconvenience. There is something very moving in the Complaint of Bishop *Ridley* upon this Occasion. The charitable good

good old Man, a little before his Martyrdom, writes thus upon the Subject. ‘ Alas ! that our Brother *Knox* could not bear with our Book of Common-Prayer, Matters against which, altho’ I grant a Man (as he is) of Wit and Learning may find to make apparaunt [meaning plausible] Reasons ; but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God’s Word—Surely Mr. *Knox* is, in my Mind, a Man of much good Learning, and of an earnest Zeal, the Lord grant him to use them to his Glory.

N’s Hist. p. 122. ‘ It was well known, Queen *Elizabeth* was a Favourer of the Reformation : And yet in the very next Page, ‘ It was with great Difficulty she was prevailed with to go the Length of King *Edward*’s Reformation.’ So again, p. 176. ‘ The Queen was so far from improving her Brother’s Reformation, that she often repented she had gone so far.

He quotes no Authority for this, nor for another Assertion of the same sort, p. 307. ‘ The Queen was for laying hold of all Opportunities to suppress a Number of Conscientious Men, whom, she would often say she hated more than the Papists.’ This Saying, as well as others, Mr. *N*. imputes to the Queen, without any manner of Authority. But then, p. 303. he declares, ‘ The whole Reformation depended upon the single Thread of her Life.’ And p. 601. ‘ Queen *Elizabeth* was a Great and Successful Princess at Home, and the Support of the Protestant Interest abroad, while it was in its Infancy ; for, without her Assistance, neither the *Hugonots* in *France*, nor the *Dutch* Reformers, could have stood their Ground. She afflited the Protestants in *Scotland* against their Popish Queen, and the Princes of *Germany* against the Emperor.

N’s Hist. p. 124. ‘ Their learned Friends and Patrons beyond Sea advised them to go thorough with the Reformation.

We have already seen the Sentiments of the learned Bullinger : *Satisfacit pii Edwardi Reformatio.*

Mr. *N*.

Mr. N. quotes a Letter from *Gualter*; but this Letter of *Gualter's* was wrote before that satisfactory Plan of King *Edward* was re-established. Some were afraid that Popery would have been continued; others feared something like the *Interim* would have been set up; others, that *Lutheranism* would have been established: *Gualter* and the foreign Divines seem most afraid of the *Interim*: He was against hearkening to the Counsels of ‘those Men who, when they saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all Artifices to have the outward Face of Religion to remain mixt, uncertain, and doubtful; so that while an Evangelical Reformation is pretended, these Things should be obtruded on the Church, which will make the returning back to Popery, Superstition and Idolatry, very easy.’ Besides using the Word *Evangelical*, his adding, ‘We have had Experience of this for some Years in Germany,’ plainly shews, he meant the *Interim*, which, according to Mr. N’s own Description, was a Form of Worship contrived in *Germany* to keep up the exterior Face of Popery. This went beyond *Lutheranism*. That *Gualter* had the *Interim* in his Thoughts, is confirmed by what Mr. N. saw in Bishop *Burnet*, in the very Page from which he took his Quotation. The Bishop observes, ‘This plainly insinuated their Fears of somewhat like what was designed by the INTERIM in Germany.’ But what *Gualter* thus plainly designed against the *Interim*, Mr. N. has produced against King *Edward's* Reformation; and in transcribing *Gualter's* Letters, has suppress the following Passage: ‘I write not these things to you, as knowing that there are any such among you; but I write from a Fear there may be some such.’ What were *Gualter's* Sentiments of the English Reformation, and of the Puritans, sufficiently appears by his Letter to Bishop *Cox*, after he had heard both Sides in that Cause. He declared, that ‘since that Time, which was six Years ago, they of Zurich had had nothing to do with those vain Brawlers, as he styled them; nor had any Letters at all past between them. That soon after it appeared to them, what they went about, when Men

N's History,
p. 67.

Life of Parker
p. 348.

Men of the same Principles with them, under Pretence of Ecclesiastical Discipline (the chiefest whereof they would have to consist in Excommunication) had been the Authors of great Troubles and Changes in the Palatinate." Mr. *Strype* has in the same place preserved a Letter from another eminent foreign Divine, *Bullinger*, to the Bishop of *Winton*. "As he rejoiced that God had given our Church such an excellent Princess as Q. *Elizabeth*, for the propagating the Gospel, so he exprest much Grief, that there were a sort of Men among us, that, by their unseasonable Contending about indifferent things, put such Obstacles in the way of the Reformation, and made a Schism in the Church; he shewed how such were in their Church at the Beginning of their Reformation, who thought nothing *pure enough*; and thereupon separated themselves, and set up Conventicles; and this begat various Sects and Schisms; but afterwards their Hypocrisy and Disorder came to be known, and they soon came to nothing.

N's Hist. p. 139. Some of the *Collects* were a little altered, and thus the Book [of Common-

Nobis certè ab eo tempore cum *vanis istis rixatoribus* nihil res fuit, qui neque ad nos unquam scripserunt, neque aliquid a nobis profectum jactari poterunt. Nam non multo post evidenter apparuit quid molirentur quando in Palatinatu sub *Disciplinæ Ecclesiastice* prætextu, cuius illi caput & summam in *Excommunicatione* constituant, mutationis primi Authores fuerunt, quæ Ecclesias illas vehementer concusserit. *Gualter.*

Dolet autem nobis non mediocriter, quod in propaganda veritate, inque dilatandis Ecclesiaz pomœriis, tot vobis se objiciunt Obstatula atque Remoræ, ab illis quoque exortæ, qui maximè Evangelici volunt videri. Verum per initia Reformationis Ecclesiaz nostræ, eadem nos exercuit molestia. Erant enim quibus nihil in reformando *satis purum* videbatur, unde &c ab Ecclesia se se segregabant, & conventicula peculiaria constituebant, quæ mox sequebantur Schismata & sectæ variae. Qua jucundum spectaculum exhibebant hostibus nostris Papisticis. Sed innotuit tandem ipsorum Hypocrisis & Ataxia, suaque sponte diffluxere. Liberabit hac molestia & vos haud dubie clemens & misericors Dominus, &c. *Bullinger.*

Prayer]

' Prayer] was presented to the two Houses, and
' passed into a Law.

There were no Collects altered, but several
valuable Prayers were added in Queen Elizabeth's
Review.

N's Hist. p. 148. Mr. *N.* gives an Abstract of
some of the Queen's Injunctions. It had been very
proper, for the Credit of the Government, to have
taken Notice of several very material ones for the
Incouragement of Learning, Relief of the Poor,
Prevention of Simony, tho' he had no Occasion
afterwards to refer to them.

N's Hist. p. 154. ' Parker and Cox were for
' Images in Churches.

However *Parker* and *Cox* might be ingaged in the
Conference, their Judgment and Practice are plainly
on the other Side. Mr. *Strype* gives the following
Account of *Parker*: ' The Archbishop elect [Parker]
' had the Assurance, and the Honesty to advise her
' Majesty not to permit the Crucifix and lighted Ta-
pers any longer in her Presence; which he did with
' that Gravity and Freedom, becoming his Office,
' that Sir Francis Knollys sent him a Letter, Oct. 13.
' 1559, wishing him Prosperity in all Godliness;
' namely, in his good Enterprize against the Enor-
' mities yet in the Queen's Closet retained.' Again

Ann. p. 175. the same Author. ' The Archbishop of Canterbury
' performed his Part, by applying himself honestly
' to the Queen, for divers Reasons, to remove them:
' And so much these Furnitures of her Chapel dis-
gusted some good Men, that one of her chief
Bishops, viz. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, being appointed
to minister the Sacrament before her there, made
it a Matter of Conscience, to do it in a Place which
he thought so dishonoured by Images.' Some
Time after this, the Queen herself express great Dis-
like even at a Common-Prayer Book with Pictures;
and said expressly to Dean *Nowell*, who laid the Book
Strype's An. 1. upon her Cushion, ' You know I have an Aversion
p. 273. to Idolatry, to Images and Pictures of this kind.' We shall have this farther confirmed under the next
Particular.

N's Hist.

N's Hist. p. 155. ‘ The Queen had a Crucifix,
with the Blessed Virgin, and St. John, still in her
Chapel: And when *Sandys* Bishop of Worcester
spoke to her against it, she threatned to deprive
him, and issued out a Proclamation, &c.

For this he quotes Bishop Burnet, Vol. III. p. 291.
The Bishop's Words in that Place are these. ‘ Upon
this, he (Bishop *Sandys*) had spoken freely to the
Queen; with that she was so displeased, as to
threaten to deprive him. *She was since that time*
more softened, and the Images were removed.
This Mr. *N.* entirely suppress'd; and (by joining
the Facts together, she threatned to deprive the Bi-
shop, and issued out a Proclamation, &c.) endeav-
ours to load the Queen's Memory for issuing that
Proclamation, *only* designed to prevent defacing of
Monuments in Churches, and *taking away Bells*
and Lead (which Circumstance he also omits) and
committing great Disorders. These Monuments
thus guarded by the Queen's Proclamation, were
only Monuments of Antiquity, being set up in
Churches, or other publick Places, for Memory,
and not for Superstition. ‘ The Mischiefs of de-
molishing these Monuments are reckoned to be,
1. That these Churches and Places were spoiled
and ruined. 2. The good and honourable Me-
mory of virtuous and noble Persons extinguisht.
3. The true understanding of divers Families in *Strype An. 1.*
the Realm, who have descended of the Blood of
the same Persons, darkened. 4. The true Course
of their Inheritance hereby might hereafter be in-
terrupted, contrary to Justice, &c.’ Can such a
Proclamation, with any Justice, be brought to sup-
port a Charge of Superstition and Idolatry?

N's Hist. p. 176. ‘ The Queen told the Archbi-
shop in Anger, that she intended to publish other
Injunctions, which his Grace understood to be in
Favour of Popery. Upon which the Archbishop
writ to the Secretary, that he was sorry the Queen's
Mind was so turned; but, in such a Case, he
should think it his Duty to obey God rather than
Man.

What the Archbishop immediately adds in his Letter does, in a great Measure, excuse the Queen. This Mr. N. thought proper to omit. ‘The Arch-

Life of Parker bishop (as Mr. Strype adds) attributed these Words

p. 109.

‘of the Queen to some *Humanus Æstus*, sudden Heat, incident to human Nature, conceived upon untrue Reports raised against them by their Enemies, and doubted not but her Majesty would well consider in Matters of such Importance, and use *Theodosius's Days of Deliberation*; and he trusted, that, as she had began Godly in this good Work [of Reforming Religion] so God would stay her Heart, and move her to go on, and to finish.’ Mr. N. describes Archbishop Parker, as a Man, whose ‘Religion consisted in a servile Obedience to the Queen’s Injunctions.’ This whole Letter, in Opposition to what the Queen had done or threatened, is a full Vindication of him from that Charge. The Reader will judge by this one Passage. ‘I should be sorry (says the good Archbishop) that the Clergy should have Cause to shew Disobedience, with *Oportet Deo obedere magis quam Hominibus*; and what Instillers soever there be, there be enough of this contemptible Flock, that will not shrink to offer their Blood for the Defence of Christ’s Verity, if it be openly impugned, or secretly fuggilled.

Strype ibid.

Vid. Append.

N's Hist. p. 185. ‘This Reverend Man, viz. Miles Coverdale (says Mr. Strype) being now old and poor, Grindal, Bishop of London, gave him the small Living of St. Magnus at the Bridge-foot, where he preached quietly about two Years; but not coming up to the Conformity required, was persecuted thence, and obliged to relinquish his Parish, a little before his Death, which happened May 20. 1567, at the Age of 81. He was a celebrated Preacher, but the Act of Uniformity brought down his Reverend grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.

To confirm this Account, Mr. N. quotes Strype’s Ann. Vol. I. Pag. 105. It should be 405. Mr. Strype’s Words are these. How altered by Mr. N.! ‘This Reverend Man being now old and poor, the Bishop

Bishop

Bishop of London committed to his Charge the Church of St. Magnus at the Bridge-foot; but the First-fruits being *sixty Pounds* sixteen Shilling and ten Pence (large First-fruits for what Mr. N. calls a *small Living!*) he was not able to pay; which made him in the Month of January address a Letter to the Arch-bishop, as he did likewise to the Bishop of London, and to his Friends, the Lord Robert Dudley, and Secretary Cecil, that they, setting his Age and his Poverty before the Queen, would prevail with her to forgive him that Debt; which Favour was at length obtained for him. This Year the said Father Coverdale went out Doctor of Divinity in one of our Universities; which Degree he had obtained long before, in the University of Tubing in Germany. Coverdale, after two or three Years, deceased, *viz.* May 20. 1565, at the Age of 81; living, as he promised the Arch-bishop, quiet, tho' not coming up, probably, to the Uniformity required.

N's Hist. p. 194. ' Dr. Guest Bishop of Rochester
writ against the Ceremonies, to Secretary Cecil.'

For this Mr N. quotes his MS. and produces the Bishop as one that was on the Puritan Side of the Question. It happens, that this very Letter to Secretary Cecil is preserved in Mr. Strype's An. 1. is so far from being against the Liturgy, that it was p. 83. *Vid.* designedly wrote in Vindication of it. ' Guest (says Append.

' Mr. Strype) convey'd the new Service-Book to the Secretary, together with a Letter to him, containing his Reasons for his own Emendations and Alterations; and therein particular Satisfaction given unto divers things, many whereof seem to have been Hints and Questions of the Secretary's, pursuant to the Settlement of the Liturgy: As first, whether such Ceremonies as were lately taken away by King Edward's Book, might not be resumed, not being evil in themselves? i. e. whether the Popish Ceremonies might not be restored?

The Answer to this Question Mr. N. or his unknown MS. applies not to the Ceremonies taken away, but to those appointed by King Edward's Book. The Answer is, that having been evil used,

and once taken away, they ought not to be taken again. The Beginning of this Letter sufficiently shews how absurd it is to employ it against the new Service-Book. ‘ Right Honourable, That you might
 ‘ well understand, that I have neither ungodly al-
 ‘ lowed any thing against the Scripture, neither un-
 ‘ steadily done any thing contrary to my Writing,
 ‘ neither rashly, without just Cause, put away it which
 ‘ might be well suffered; nor undiscreetly, for No-
 ‘ veltie, brought in that which might be better left
 ‘ out, I am so bold to write to your Honour some
 ‘ Causes of the Order taken in the new Service.’ He
 concludes in this Manner. ‘ Thus, as I think, I have
 ‘ shewed good Cause why the Service is set forth in
 ‘ such sort as it is. God, for his Mercy in Christ,
 ‘ cause the Parliament with one Voice to enact it,
 ‘ and the Realm, with true Heart, to use it.’ ’Tis
 true, he was of Opinion, that the Posture at the Sa-
 crament should be left indifferent; but it should also
 be remembered, that the Puritans offered six Reasons
 against the Habits, which Mr. N. has produced,
 p. 207. And tho’ he did not think proper to mention
 any Answer, but only says, *some were for answering the Reasons*, yet did this very Dr. Gæst, Bishop of Rochester, very fully answer those Reasons of the
 Puritans; which Answer is both in Mr. Strype’s Life of Parker, and Mr. Collier, where the Reasons are
 set down.

N’s Hist. p. 209. ‘ Humphreys made so many
 ‘ Friends at Court, that at length he obtained a
 ‘ Toleration for himself, but had no Preferment in
 ‘ the Church till after ten or twelve Years, when he
 ‘ submitted to the Habits.

Here again we have the MS. quoted, tho’ it is
 Life of Par-effectually confuted by Mr. Strype. ‘ Humphreys,
 ker, p. 185. ‘ for his Usefulness in the University, had a Toleration,
 ‘ till ten or eleven Years after, when he comply’d,
 ‘ and wore the Habits.’ But much within this time
 we find a new Preferment bestowed upon him. ‘ In
 ‘ five Years after he became Dean of Gloucester, in
 ‘ the Year 1570, according to Wood’s Athen. Oxon.
 How could this MS. say, he had no Preferment in
 the Church till after ten Years. He was Regius Pro-

Professor of Divinity, and President of *Magdalens College* in *Oxford*, and continued so all the time, notwithstanding his Noncompliance with the appointed Habits. In five Years after he was made Dean of *Gloucester*. After that he was made Dean ^{Anno. p. 472.} of *Winchester*. The Reader must pay little Regard to Mr. N's Lamentations, or to his MS. when he observes, that he complains that this Gentleman, Dr. *Humphreys*, who had so many considerable Stations in the Church, and never was turn'd out of one of them, was denied Preferment for his Puritanical Principles. Mr. *Fuller*, on the contrary, says, ' Not-Church Hist. ' notwithstanding his Nonsubscribing, he kept his Pro- Lib. IX. ' fessor's Place and Deanry of *Winchester* as long P. 501. ' as he lived.

N's Hist. p. 211. ' After much Persuasion, and
many Threatnings, Sixty One [of the London
Clergy] out of about One Hundred, were pre-
vaileed with to subscribe, and Thirty Seven abso- Life of Par-
lutely refused, of which last Number, as the Arch- ker, p. 215.
bishop acknowledg'd, were some of the best
Preachers [were the best, and some Preachers :
Six or Seven convenient sober Men pretending a
Conscience; divers of them zealous, but of little
Learning and Judgment. These are the Words in
the Author Mr. N. quotes] ' These were immedi-
ately suspended, and put from all Manner of Mi-
nistry, with Signification, that if they did not con-
form within Three Months, they were to be de-
prived.

The Account we have in *Strype's Annals* and Ann. 462: Life of Archbishop *Grindal* is much more full. They are both quoted by Mr. N. but he omits several material Circumstances, in particular, that *many* of those who were suspended, did come in within the three Months, and were *not deprived*. Any one that reads his dismal Account of the Danger of the N's History Reformation, and Ruin of so many poor Families, p. 217. must imagine that they were all turned out of their Livings. But Mr. *Strype* says, ' As most did sub-
scribe at that time, so about thirty stood out, and
were suspended; but *many* of these, *within* the
three Months, *came in*.

Another very important Circumstance omitted by Mr. N. is, that there were *Papists* among those who were Nonsubscribers. The Life of *Grindal*, p. 99. gives the following Account. ‘ On this memorable 24th of March, the Number that appeared at Lambeth, as aforesaid, was 140; whereof only 30 did not subscribe; of which Number (adds Mr. *Strype*) was my Journalist, who, with many others, afterwards yielded and subscribed—Some went over Sea, and these were *Papists* chiefly; for among these Nonsubscribers were some *Papists*.

P. 223. ‘ To return to the London Clergy (says Mr. N.) among the deprived Ministers, SOME took themselves to the Study of *Phyfick*; OTHERS entered upon secular Employment; SOME went into Scotland or beyond Sea; SOME got to be Chaplains in Gentlemen’s Families.

The whole Number, Protestants and Papists, that were suspended, was at most but 37; many of these, as we have seen, complied, and were not deprived; those who did not, were disposed of in those several Ways Mr. N. mentions: And yet, after all this, he adds, ‘ MANY who had large Families were reduced to Beggary!’ We have a Complaint in the same Strain, *p.* 124. ‘ Those (says he) that could comply with the Queen’s Establishment, were quickly preferred, but the rest were neglected.’ And yet, *p.* 181, and 183, five Years after this Complaint, he gives us large Catalogues, even half the Convocation of the Puritan Side, that either sat by Virtue of their Dignities, Deanries, or Archdeaconries; or were elected into Convocation, as Proctors for the Clergy. Even this considerable Number was not, (if Mr. N. *p.* 183, is to be credited, against himself, in *p.* 124.) the whole of those who were on that Side the Question. His Words are: ‘ I mention these Names, not to detract from the Merit of those that appeared for the present Establishment; for many of them would have voted for the Alterations, but were awed by their Superiors, &c.

N’s Hist. *p.* 217. We have here a very partial Representation of a Letter of Archbishop *Parker*’s.

‘ In

In one of his Letters (says Mr. N.) he tells the Secretary, That if he was not better backed, there would be fewer *Winchesters* as is desired, referring to *Stephen Gardiner*, the bloody persecuting Bishop of *Winchester*, in Queen *Mary's* Reign; but for my Part, (says he) so that my Prince may win Honour, I will be very gladly the Rock of Offence; Since the Lord is my Helper, I will not fear what Man can do unto me; nor will I be amused or daunted, *fremat mundus, ruat cœlum.*

This is the whole that Mr. N. quotes. Those that opposed wearing the Habits well knew, they had the *Earl of Leicester* and *Sir Francis Knollys*, *Strype's Ann.* and some others, their Friends at Court. They had,

it seems, raised great Expectations from this Support. Upon which, the Archbishop writes to the Secretary. Mr. N. quotes *Life of Parker*, p. 219, 220. for this Letter, but very ungenerously suppresses that Part of it which was most advantageous to the Archbishop's Character. It stands thus in Mr. *Strype*:

The Archbishop signified all this to the Secretary April 7. wishing to understand from him, what Likelihood there might be of this great Expectation. As for his own Part, he professed, that whatsoever he had done, and did, was *bona Conscientia*; that he regarded *God's Honour*, and the *Publick Quiet*; that he wished Obedience to the Queen's Highness and her Laws, which was the greatest Estimation her Highness could have among her People; and that if this Matter should be overthrown, according to all these great Hopes, he said he was at a Point to be used and abused, *nam scio nos Episcopos in hunc usum positos esse*; as he added, we be the Stiles over which Men will soonest leap; and if we be thus backed [meaning thus slenderly backed, or not backed at all] there will be fewer *Winchesters*, as is desired." For that was one of the odious Phrases these Men bestowed upon the Bishops that urged Uniformity, calling them *Winchesters*, pointing to *Stephen Gardiner*, that bloody, persecuting Bishop of *Winchester*, in Queen *Mary's* Reign. But when he told the Secretary, there would be fewer *Winchesters*, if they were no better back'd, he intimated, that he saw that the

Favour shewed to these Men tended to the Overthrow of all Bishops. ‘ But for my Part (he proceeded) so that my Prince may win Honour, either by standing or relenting, I will be very gladly *Lapis Offensionis*, &c.

N’s Hist. p. 220. ‘ There was still one Door of Entrance into the Ministry left open to the Puritans, which the Archbiſhop used all his Interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a PRIVILEGE granted to the University of Cambridge BY POPE ALEXANDER VI. to license Twelve Ministers Yearly to preach any where throughout England— Here his Grace met with a Disappointment; for the University retained their Privilege, and made use of it to the Relief of the Puritans.

It was observed before, that every thing these Gentlemen disliked was Popery; but, it seems, nothing they do can possibly be so. Here we see these very Men ratifying and confirming a papal Encroachment, and their Historian triumphing against a Protestant Archbiſhop; that the Puritans were able to support a Bull of Pope Alexander’s, which was founded upon the Supposition of his being universal Biſhop, and invested with a Plenitude of Power! Was a Scholar’s Gown, a Surplice, or a square Cap, such an Abomination, that those who peaceably wore them must be represented as Papists in Disguise, half-faced Protestants, that would be content with the Return of that Religion whose Badge they wore; and yet owning the universal Jurisdiction of the Pope, accepting a Licence to preach the Gospel from him or his Substitutes; defending that Power, and acting under it, was in the Puritans a most commendable Action! These too were the Men that valued them

N’s History
p. 201.
Ibid. p. 146.
P. 145.

‘ selves for keeping close to the Bible; that disregarded the Practice of a primitive Church, for the first four or five Centuries, and would not submit to a Habit declaredly appointed for Distinction, lest they should not stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. It was admitted, Mr. N. tells us, by those whom he is pleased to call Court Reformers, ‘ that the Church of Rome was a true Church, tho’ corrupt—the Pope was a true Biſhop of Rome, ‘ tha’

‘ tho’ not of the univerſal Church. But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be *Antichrist*, the Church of *Rome* to be no true Church.” And yet these very Puritans esteemed it a noble Victory, that they could preach by Virtue of a Bull from Antichrist himself: If the Gospel had fixt this Character upon him, no human Laws or Customs could alter it. But the most exceptionable Part of their Conduct was, their loading the Queen and the Bishops with heavy Accusations, as Encouragers of Popery; as leading Men back to Popery and Superstition, when they themselves were preaching by Virtue of a papal Bull, and applied for a Licence, which ow’d its very Being to the usurped Authority of Antichrist. A very small Portion of that Cauſtry which satisfied them, in soliciting for such Licences, and maintaining the Lawfulness of them, might have induced them, for the Sake of Peace, and a firmer Union with their Fellow-Protestants, to wear a Habit the Protestant Laws of their Country appointed to distinguish their Profession. But if they would not submit to these Laws, sure it behoved them to be very cautious of upbraiding their *Superiors* with *Popery*, when they themselves could not pretend, they had the least Direction, in Scripture, to apply to an University, to exercise an Authority granted by the *Pope*, under the Character of universal Bishop, and supreme Head of the Church.

N’s Hist. p. 221. ‘ But this learned Body, the University of Cambridge, was soon after thrown into Confusion, by the Controversy of the Habits.

What a solemn Description is this of the irregular Behaviour of some rash young Students in the University? If these are thought to add any Credit to the Puritan Side, ’tis easy to increase the Number of them. There are such Puritans who will not comply with the Statutes, or wear the Academical Habit in every University in the World. ‘ Dr. Longworth (says Mr. N.) Master of St. John’s, being absent from his College, the Students of that House came to Chapel on a Festival Day without their Hoods and Surplices, (HOWEVER THEY HAD WORN THEM BEFORE) should have been added, being in the

‘ the Original——In Trinity College all, except
Strype's Ann.
 478.
 three, declared against the Surplice.’ It follows
 immediately in the Author from whom this Account
 is taken, by the *Instigation* of T. Cartwright. But
 this Mr. N. omits. As conscientious an Affair as
 the *History of the Puritans* makes of the Matter, Se-
 cretary Cecil calls it ‘ a lewd Leprosy of Libertines;
 ‘ riotous shaking off the Yoke of *Obedience* and *Or-
 der.*’ He adds upon the same Occasion, ‘ I am
 inwardly afraid, if Fear shall not stay this *riotous In-
 solency*, these rash *young Heads* that are so soon ripe
 to climb up into Pulpits, will content themselves
 with *no Limits* either in the *Church*, or in the *Po-
 licy.*’ By an Account sent to the Secretary, it
 appears, ‘ that these Men had, by their Counsels,
 ‘ so disturbed all things, that the Time which was
 wont heretofore to be employed in good Arts and
 Sciences, was now spent and consumed in trivial
 ‘ Janglings de *Lana caprina.*’ But it seems this
 Scrupulosity about Habits had its Use: When Mo-
 ney ran low, a Student might *pawn* his Surplice to
 the *Cook*, and then pretend his Conscience would
 not allow him to wear it, as appears in Mr. *Strype's*
Ann. p. 483.

N's Hist. p. 227. ‘ Mr. *Strype* is of Opinion,
 that the Archbishop himself published an Answer
 to the *Declaration* of the nonconforming Ministers;
 but whoever be the Author, he is a Man of a bad
 Spirit, and abusive Language.

As Mr. N. produces the Reasons of the refusing
 Ministers, it had been more impartial to have given
 some Account of the Answer to them; but this
 would have confuted his Censure; and therefore he
 condemns the Performance in the gross: The Au-
 thor, says he, was a Man of a bad Spirit, and abu-
 sive Language. Mr. *Strype*, on the contrary, says,
 the *Declaration*, &c. of the *London* Ministers soon
 received a grave and learned Answer—The Writer
 undertook to weigh and examine the *Grounds* and
Reasons distinctly, which had been urged in the said
 Declaration, for refusing the Apparel and Garments
 then used of Christ's Church in *England*; which he
 doth nervously.

N's Hist.

N's Hist. p. 229. ' This Order (for Reformation of divers Disorders, in printing and uttering of Books) was signed by Eight of the Privy-Council.

Had their Names been mentioned, we should have seen those *Champions* in the Puritan Cause, Mr. N's Great Earl of Leicester, and Sir Francis Knollys, of the Number; which confirms what Mr. Strype says, that the Puritan Books were written with much *Confidence* and *Sharpness*. Would the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys have signed an Order to punish those who published Books on the Puritan Side, wrote, as Mr. N. alledges, N's History with good Temper and Judgment?

227.

N's Hist. p. 229. ' The Puritans being thus foreclosed and shut out of the Church by Sequestrations and Imprisonments, the taking away their Licences to preach, and the Restraint of the Prefs, most of them were at a Loss how to behave.

Dismal Representation of their Case! It will be some Relief to see it effectually confuted! The last Author Mr. N. had quoted, was Strype's Life of Parker, p. 222. In the very next Page we find these Words, tho' Mr. N. did not think fit to produce them. ' Gentleness, as appears hence, was used towards those Ministers that stood out, and so were deprived. Some of them, by Order of the Council, with the Advice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, were taken up, and put under easy Restraints, with some of the Bishops, being sent down, some to Ely, some to Norwich, and some to the Bishop of Winton; partly to have the Benefit of their Instructions, and partly to rid London of them. But it was not long that they remained so, but were restored to their Liberties, and had Leave, or at least Connivance to preach.

N's Hist. p. 230. ' Here was the Æra, or Date of the Separation, a most unhappy Event (says Mr. Strype) whereby People of the same Country, of the same Religion, and of the same Judgment

ment in Doctrine, parted Communions: One Part being obliged to go aside into secret Houses and Chambers to serve God by themselves, which begat Strangeness between Neighbours, Christians and Protestants.

In these few Lines, which he marks as a compleat and fair Quotation, Mr. N. is guilty of omitting a Declaration in Favour of the Conformists, that they were equal Enemies to Popery with the Separatists; and of artfully adding an Accusation against the Church Party, as being the Cause of the Separation, by obliging the Puritans to go aside, and also of imputing that Strangeness to one Side, which the Original imputes to the other. A Gentleman that can quote after this Manner must be content to find himself flatly contradicted. Mr. Strype does not say, as he affirms he does, but says as follows, in the very Place he quotes. ‘ This was a most unhappy Event of this Controversy, whereby People of the same Country, of the same Religion, and of the same Judgment too concerning the Errors of Popery, and the Evangelical Doctrine, parted Communions, and went aside [he does not say, were obliged to go] into secret Houses and Chambers, to serve God by themselves; which SEPARATION begat Estrangements between Neighbours, Christians and Protestants.

N’s Hist. p. 240. The Puritans objected ‘ to the wearing of the Surplice and other Vestments to be used in Divine Service, concerning WHICH the Church says, in the Preface to her Liturgy, that tho’ they were devised by Men, yet they are reserved for Decency, Order and Edification.’ And again, ‘ they are apt to stir up the dull Mind of Man to the Remembrance of his Duty to God, by some notable and special Signification whereby he might be edified.

Vid. Injunction. Queen Elizabeth herself, and the Bishops, upon all Occasions, declared the Habits were prescribed, That the Clergy might be of one decent Behaviour in their outward Apparel, and be KNOWN by their DISTINCT HABITS to be of that Vocation; not meaning to attribute any Holiness or special Worthiness to the said

30. Preface to the Advertisements.

said Garments. The warm and hurtful Contention raised by the Puritans, upon account of the appointed Habits, made it necessary to represent them as something very different from what they really were, which was no more than a particular Dress to distinguish a particular Order of Men. Mr. N. seems conscious, that a Dress appointed with this View could never justify the inflaming the Protestant Populace throughout the Nation; and therefore he labours to represent it in another Light, and quotes two Passages in the Preface to the *Liturgy* for this Purpose. But is there any mention of the *Habits* in either of them? One Passage runs thus. ‘ This ‘ our excessive Multitude of *Ceremonies* [in the ‘ Times of Popery] was so great, and many of ‘ them so dark, that they did more confound and ‘ darken than declare and set forth Christ’s Benefits ‘ unto us. And besides this, *Christ’s Gospel* is not a ‘ ceremonial Law (as much of *Moses’ Law* was) ‘ but it is a Religion to serve God, not in Bondage ‘ of the Figure or Shadow, but in the Freedom of ‘ the Spirit, being content only with those *Ceremo-* ‘ *nies* which do serve to a decent Order, and godly ‘ Discipline; and such as be apt to stir up the dull ‘ Mind of Man to the Remembradce of his Duty to ‘ God, by some notable and special Signification, ‘ whereby he might be edified.’’ The Preface says, *Christ’s Gospel* is content only with those *Ceremo-* ‘ *nies*, &c. Mr. N. asserts, that the Preface says, the *Vestments* were designed for these Purposes; whereas the Vestments are not mentioned there; and, as we have seen, they were appointed for a very different Purpose. The other Passage in the Preface serves his Turn as little. There is nothing said there of the distinguishing Dress of the Clergy; which would have plainly appeared, if he had quoted it as it stands in the Book. ‘ Other (*Ceremonies*) ‘ there be, which, altho’ they have been devised by ‘ Man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, ‘ as well for a decent Order in the Church, for the ‘ which they were first devised, as because they per- ‘ tain to Edification, whereunto all things done in ‘ the Church (as the Apostle teacheth) ought to be ‘ referred.’ That these Passages have not the least

least Relation to the Habits, Mr. N. himself, in another Place, strongly asserted. His Words are these. ‘ Our first Reformers NEVER ascribed ANY ‘ Holiness or Virtue to the Vestments, but wish’d ‘ and pray’d for their Removal.

And who were the Authors of this Preface, but the first Reformers? But Mr. N. goes farther. ‘ Not one of the first Set of Bishops after the Reformation approved of the Habits, or argued for their Continuance, from Scripture, Antiquity, or Decency; but submitted to them out of Necessity, to keep the Church in the Queen’s Favour.

What Inconsistency is here! The Habits are said to be exceptionable, because they were declared to have some notable and special Signification; and yet those very Persons who are charged with making this Declaration, are said to have no such Opinion of the Habits, and never to have argued for them upon any such Topic! Their Words are misquoted, in order to fix an Opinion upon them which himself declares they never entertain’d.

N's Hist. p. 242. ‘ The Sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were assembled, to the Number of about One Hundred. ‘ Most of them were taken into Custody, and sent to the Compter.

Mr. N. quotes for this, Life of Grindal, p. 315. and Life of Parker, p. 342. He should have said p. 115. and p. 242. This may be a Mistake of the Printer; but the misrepresenting the Number of Prisoners must be his own; for in both Places he should have quoted, it is expressly said, about Fourteen or Fifteen were sent to the Compter; but, as this Gentleman assures us in his Preface, he has said nothing with a Design to exasperate, he has only increased Fourteen or Fifteen to the greatest Part of a Hundred.

N's Hist. p. 245. ‘ At length, their Patience and Constancy having been sufficiently tried, an Order was sent from the Lords of the Council, to release them, with an Admonition to behave themselves better for the future.

Here

Here again we are referred to a wrong Place, viz. Life of *Grindal*, p. 120. instead of p. 135. But the partial Representation of this Matter, and the *suppressing* good Bishop *Grindal's Share* in their Enlargement, fall much heavier upon this Writer. The Words of his Author, whom he places in the Margin, to give Credit to his *own Story*, are these.

' Nor could all the Bishop's Endeavours reclaim them : And therefore pitying their Condition, HE moved the Secretary, that Clemency might be used towards them, that so by giving them freely their Liberty, only with an Admonition, they might be more prevailed withal to comply with the Laws, than by Severity ; and praying the Secretary to obtain from the Lords of the Council an Order to him (the Bishop) to release them. Accordingly, the Lords approved of *Grindal's Counsel*, and in April sent him a Letter with a Warrant for that Purpose.

N's Hist. p. 272. ' The Convocation that began with this Parliament assembled April 3. when the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Alcock presented a Supplication to them in behalf of the deprived Ministers, praying their Interest with the Queen for a Redress of their Grievances; if a *Godly Minister* (says he) omit but the least Ceremony, for Conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into Prison, and his Goods wasted and destroyed.

For this Account Mr. N. refers us to his MS. which is effectually confuted by what we find in D'Ewe's Journal in the same Year 1571. A Bill was brought into the House, for coming to Service; upon which one of the Members observes, that by the former Law it was Enacted, ' That the Service shall not be said, or Sacrament ministered in any other sort, than in the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed; he shewed how differently the same was used, in many Places, from the prescribed Rule. As, where no Part of those Prayers were observed, but a Sermon, and some such other Prayers only as the Minister shall think good in Place thereof. Whereupon have great Divisions, Discords and Dillikes grown amongst and between

‘ between great Numbers. (He adds) the Ministers
‘ neither do, nor will do herein as they should, and
‘ as is by the Law prescribed and commanded.

How different is this from the MS. Account ! If they had been *deprived* and *imprisoned* for omitting the leaſt Ceremony, how could there be ſo many Churches, at the very time this Complaint is ſuppoſed to be made, in which they departed ſo much from the prescribed Form of Service !

N's Hist. p. 279. ‘ The Reverend Mr. David Whitehead, a great Scholar, and moft heavenly Professor of Divinity— He was chosen one of the *Disputants against the Popiſh Bifhops*, and ſhewed himſelf ſo profound a Divine, the Queen offered him the *Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury*.

Strange Offer to ſuch a Man, from a Princess who, Mr. N. affirms, had a *Heart not to be alienated from the Papiſts* ! But this Gentleman goes on : ‘ He refused it from *Puritanical Principles*, and would accept of no Preferment in the Church, as it then stood.’ Had not Mr. Whitehead given his own Reasons for this Refusal, Mr. N. might have invented one for him. ’Tis injuring his Memory, to charge him with ſuppreſſing the true Reason, and giving a false one. He alledged no Dislike of the Church; but ſaid, he could live plentifully on preaching the Gospel, without any Preferment. ’Tis therefore very unaccountable in Mr. N. without any Authority (not even that of his MS.) to assign Puritanism for the Reason of his Refusal. This is more unwarrantable, because, as Mr. N. himſelf mentions, he was one of the *Disputants against the Popiſh Bifhops*; in which Dispute, one Article was, Whither every Church had not Authority to appoint,

N's History p. 136. change, and take away CEREMONIES and Ecclesiastical Rites, ſo the ſame were done to edifying. Burnet Vol. II. cal Rites, ſo the ſame were done to edifying. Beſtrype's Ann. ſide, Mr. Sampſon, Cartwright, and other Puritans, Vol. I.

accepted of Hospitals; yet Mr. Whitehead refused a Preferment of that ſort, the Hospital of the Savoy, being reſolved not to have any Preferment, either ſuch as Puritans or Conformists accepted of. Upon the whole, as he was one of thoſe who revised and prepared the LITURGY for the Parliament, and always

ways continued preaching in the Church. He *Strype Ann.* 1.
ought to be added to the Number of those eminent
pious Men, who approved of the Constituti-
on, and died Members of the Church of England.

N's Hist. p. 279. ‘Archbishop Parker took in
the Bishops abovementioned viz. *Winchester* and
Ely, (to which Mr. N. should have added, *Worce-
ster*, *Chichester*, and *Sarum*) to countenance his
Proceedings. But *Grindal* declared he would
not be concerned, if his Grace proceeded to Sus-
pension and Deprivation. Upon which *Parker*
writ back, that he thought it high Time to set
about it; and however the World might judge,
he would serve God and his Prince, and put her
Laws in Execution. That *Grindal* was too timo-
rous, there being no Danger of a *Præmunire*.”

There is no Mention of any such Declaration of
Grindal's in the Place from whence Mr. N. took
this Paragraph, viz. *Life of Parker*, p. 325. The
Account there is very different, in many Respects,
from his Representation of it. 'Tis in the follow-
ing Words. ‘Of the Bishop of *London* he [Arch-
bishop *Parker*] doubted, if it came to Suspension
or Deprivation, whether he would be concerned.’
Sandys was Bishop of *London*, and not *Grindal*.
But, for his own Part, as he wrote in a Letter to
Grindal, *Archbishop of York*, that howsoever the
World might judge, he would serve God, his
Prince and her Laws, and his Conscience, as it
was high Time to set upon it: And yet he said he
would be glad to be advised to work prudently,
rather to *Edification* than to *Destruction*.

N.H. p. 283. ‘Her Majesty sent them word within
a Day or two, that she utterly disliked the Bills,
and never returned them. This awakened a brave
Spirit of Liberty among some of the Members:
Many free Speeches were made upon this Occasion,
and among others, Sir Peter *Wentworth* spoke----
but for this Speech Sir Peter was sent to the Tower.

The Queen's Message by Mr. Treasurer upon
this Occasion, is preserved in *D'Ewe's Journal*,
p. 214. How different from Mr. N's Account of
it!

it! ‘ Her Majesty seem’d utterly to mislike of the first Bill, and of him that brought the same into the House; and that her Highness express Will and Pleasure was, that no Preacher or Minister should be impeached or indicted, or otherwise molested or troubled, as the Preamble of the said Bill did purport, adding these comfortable Words farther, that her Majesty, as Defender of the Faith, will aid and maintain all good Protestants, to the discouraging of all Papists.’ But Sir Peter Wentworth was sent to the Tower, upon this Occasion! Three Years after, viz. in the Year 1575,

D'Ewe's Journal p. 236. ‘ Peter Wentworth, Esq; (whom Mr. N. calls Sir Peter) one of the Burgeesses for the Borough of Tregony in the County of Cornwall, was, for un-reverent and undutiful Words uttered by him in this House of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen’s Majesty, sequestered, that the House might proceed to Conference and Consideration of his said Speech.’ A Committee was appointed, and did take the Speech into Consideration accordingly. Mr. Treasurer, probably the Chairman, reported, that the Committee had examined the said Peter Wentworth touching the violent and wicked Words yesterday pronounced by him in this House touching the Queen’s Majesty, and made a Collection of the same Words; which Words so collected the said Peter Wentworth did acknowledge and confess. Then did the said Mr. Treasurer read unto the House the said Note of Collection, which being read, he declared farther, That the said Peter Wentworth being examined what he could say for the extenuating of his said Fault and Offence, could neither say any thing at all to that Purpose, neither yet did charge any other Person as Author of his said Speech, but did take all the Burden thereof to himself; and so the said Mr. Treasurer did thereupon move for his Punishment and Imprisonment in the Tower, as the House should think good—whereupon he was ordered to the Tower—but the said Peter Wentworth was shortly, by the Queen’s special Favour, restored again to his Liberty, and Place in the House.’ Mr. Wentworth’s Speech is preserved in

in *D'Ewe's Journal*. He says, with respect to the Queen, ‘ How could any Prince more unkindly entreat, abuse and oppose herself against her Nobility and People, than her Majesty did the last Parliament?’ He goes on to explain himself upon the Bills relating, not to the religious Disputes, but to the Scottish Queen, in which Affair, as it is observed p. 241. the Queen inhibited them for a certain time to proceed. But Mr. *Wentworth* not only inveighed against the Queen, but seems to take particular Care to alienate the People’s Affection from her. He adds, ‘ Will not this her Majesty’s Handling, think you, Mr. Speaker, make cold Dealing in any of her Majesty’s Subjects towards her again?’ This Gentleman was a Friend and Favourer of the Puritans; and if Mr. *N.* thinks it will be any Credit to the Cause, he is at full Liberty to call such Treatment of the Queen Puritanism, and still to reckon Mr. *Wentworth's* Commitment by the House of Commons one Instance of suffering upon that Account.

N's Hist. p. 308. ‘ But after all, his Lordship of *Norwich* being suspected of Remissness, *Parker* directed a Special Commission to Commissaries of his own appointing, to visit his Diocese parochially, which they did, and reported, some Ministers were absent, and so could not be examined; other Churches had no Surplices, but the Ministers said they would wear them when provided: But that there were about THREE HUNDRED Nonconformists, whom they had SUSPENDED, some of whom, as the good old Bishop writ, were godly, learned, and had done much good.

In Confirmation of this, Mr. *N.* quotes *Life of Parker*, p. 452. Upon consulting that Author, we find an Account greatly different in several respects from the foregoing Representation of it. ‘ The Bishop of *Norwich* (says Mr. *N.*) being suspected of Remissness, *Parker* directed a Special Commission to visit his Diocese.’ But when was this? Mr. *Strype* informs us ‘twas the next Year, after the *Bishop* was dead. ‘ In March 1574, the Archbishop began his Visitation of the Church of

‘ *Norwich*, according to the Custom upon *Vacancies* of the Sees.” But Mr. N. adds, the *Archbishop’s Commissaries* reported, some Ministers were absent, and so could not be examined. Other Churches had no Surplices, &c. about three hundred were suspended. This Report was not by the *Archbishop’s Commissaries*. ‘ By virtue of a special Order (says Mr. *Strype*) from the Queen and Council to visit this Diocese of *Norwich* parochially, a strict Inquiry was made about the Clergy’s Conformity, many of whom did not wear the Habits, nor used the other Rites enjoined. The Ministers of *Norwich* had been before the Bishop there, as he [not the Commissaries] wrote to the *Archbishop*, Dec. 3. whom he had earnestly admonished to Conformity and due Obedience, and found them agreeing, and very tractable.’ But Mr. N. says, about three hundred were suspended, some of whom, as the good old Bishop writ, were godly and learned, and had done much Good. On the contrary, Mr. *Strype*, in the Place Mr. N. quotes, says, after the Inquisition and Search of the Diocese was pretty well over, the Bishop of *Norwich* wrote thus to the *Archbishop*. ‘ My Duty unto your Grace humbly remembered. I do send unto you by this Bringer, the Certificate for the Archdeaconry of *Sudbury*, whereby your Grace may see there be not many wilful Bodies of the Clergy, and they, for the most Part, have promised Conformity. In the Archdeaconry of *Suffolk*, are very few, or none at all, but that be well willing to be ordered. And so I have been certified, without naming any Person particularly; wherefore I trust your Grace, nor any others of Authority, shall have any great ado with the Clergy of my Diocese.’ Accordingly, we do not find the least Mention of three hundred, nor any thing like it, suspended. *James Rosier*, Vicar of *Winstan*, and *John Champyn*, Vicar of *Whested*, are the only Persons said to be suspended. Mr. *Welch*’s, Curate of *Little Waldingfield*, ’tis said, neither hath, nor will observe the Order, and for that Cause, had given over the Cure. These three Mr. N. calls about three hundred. There are indeed some few more

more mentioned, that either desired Time to consider, or that did not consent to conform, but no other are said to be suspended. The whole Number of Refusers, of all sorts, falls greatly short of one hundred; and agreeably to this the Bishop says in his Letter, there be *not many* wilful Bodies, and most of these [few] have promised Conformity. Again, *Some* of those that were suspended (says Mr. N.) the Bishop, in his Letter, wrote, were godly and learned, and had done much good. *Some*, says Mr. N. his Author, on the contrary, says *One*, the rest wholly agreeing, and being tractable, saving that *one*, Mr. Moor (who does not appear to have been suspended) of whom the Bishop gave this Character to the Archbishop, ‘That he had not known that he had spoken against her Majesty’s Book at any time; neither could he find any manner of Stubborness in him; and surely (as he added) HE is godly and learned, and hath done much good in this City.’ This is the Account in *Strype* 452. the very Place quoted by Mr. N. for the Suspension of about 300, *some* of whom the good old Bishop wrote were godly, &c. Mr. N. seems to have taken great Pains to misrepresent the Proceedings of this Bishop of *Norwich*. The Bishop himself wrote a Letter to his Chancellor, that Commandment might be sent to his Archdeacons and their Ministers, to give in Charge to the Clergy and Quest-men, in their respective Circuits, to present the Names and Surnames of all such Persons as were negligent, obstinate, or any otherwise Hinderers of her Majesty’s Proceedings, contrary to the said Book, and the Statute provided in *Strype’s Ann.* that behalf. This Letter was dated from *Ludham*, 261.

Jan. 30, 1573. Mr. N’s Representation is as follows. ‘The Commissioners being thus pushed forward from above, sent Letters to the Bishops, to give it in Charge to their Clergy and Quest-men, &c. A Letter of this sort was sent, among others, to the old Bishop of *Norwich*, dated from *Ludlow*, Jan. 30, 1573. This was very unacceptable Work to a Man that was dropping into his Grave, &c.’ The Bishop himself wrote a Letter from *Ludham*, and this he calls a Letter to the Bi-

shop from the Commissioners from *Ludlow*. What Commissioners met at *Ludlow*? Or, who was it that pushed forward from above, Commissioners that were never heard of before, Commissioners at *Ludlow*? In short, here is a Story dress'd up, meerly to blacken the Government. Mr. *N.* farther adds, the Bishop allowed his Chancellor totally to silence those unconformable Ministers, who continued their Parts in the publick Exercises or Prophesyings, after their Suspension; *tho' it was against his Judgment*. Whereas the Bishop express-
ly says, "This (total Silencing) being a thing so reasonable, I cannot perform my Duty, if I shall neglect, or partially wink at such Doings." Mr. *N.* had the Letter, of which this is Part, before him, when he asserted, the Bishop acted against his Judgment; for he quotes the Sentence preceeding that which is here produced.

N's Hist. p. 314. "The Reverend Mr. Robert Johnson — was tried at *Westminster-hall* for Non-conformity. It was alledged against him, that he had married without the Ring, and that he had baptized without the Cross. Mr. Peirce says he was also accused of a Misdemeanour, because when once he was administering the Sacrament, the Wine falling short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh — but nothing of this kind appears in his Two Indictments, which are now before me." His MS. Collection, as the Margin informs us, furnishes him with these two Indictments. And Mr. Johnson's own Account of his Tryal, drawn up, and SIGNED by himself, furnishes us with a sufficient Confutation of this MS. Collection, and shews what little Credit it deserves, (at least, as quoted by him) even when it pretends to produce Instruments or Papers in Form.

We find this Tryal in that famous Collection called, *Part of a Register, p. 105.*

The Examination of Master Robert Johnson at Westminster-hall.

The Jury being empanelled, and the Indictment read, Maister Johnson spake as followeth.

R. Johnson.

R. Johnson. If it please your Honours, may I not submit myself, and declare the Truth of Things as they were done.

L Cb. Justice. Yes, you may.

R. Johnson. I stand here *Indicted* for THREE Points; the first is, That I have *not repeated* the Words of the Institution; or, as they commonly say, I have *not consecrated the Wine*, when I delivered it to the People. Secondly, That I have not married with a Ring. Thirdly, That I have not used to make the Crol's in the Administration of Baptism.

After several Questions and Answers, the Bishop rose up, and spake. ' These two last be but Trifles, and Matters of no Weight, but the chiefest is the Consecration of the Sacrament; for in that it had not the Word, it was no Sacrament, and so the People were mocked.

There are several Particulars in Mr. Johnson's Character, as well as that unreverent Behaviour which, as he has recorded himself, was said to be the Cause of his Commitment; together with some other Circumstances that might be taken Notice of; but the only Design of mentioning his Case, is to shew, how little we can rely upon Mr. N's Quotations from this MS.

N's Hist. p. 341. After a very injurious Character of Archbisshop Parker (whom Mr. Strype, after Life of Parker, p. 495. taking so much Pains in inquiring into his Life, declares a Person of great Integrity, Worth and Learning) Mr. N. tells us, ' He died of the Stone in the Year 1575, and was interred in Lambeth-Chapel, where his Body rested, till it was removed at the End of the Civil Wars, by a private Gentleman, who purchased that Palace for a Mansion-house.

Removed by a private Gentleman! Thrown into a Dunghill by a Regicide! This was the Truth of the Case, however Mr. N. thought fit to soften the Fact, for the sake of him that committed it. Mr. Strype gives the following Account of it.

Upon the Dissolution of Monarchy, in the bar- Life of Parker
barous Violence used upon the sacred Person of p. 499.
King Charles I. Lambeth House fell to the Lot of Colo-

Colonel Scot, one of the Regicides. He thought
 to turn the Chapel into a Hall or Dancing-Room.
 This venerable Monument standing in the Way,
 it was totally demolished; and out of Hatred to
 Episcopacy, and, it may be, to Archbishop Parker
 himself, who indeed was no Friend to Puritans,
 (and foretold that which was then come to pass by
 their Means) they caused his Body to be digged
 up. The Lead that enclosed it they plucked off,
 and sold, and the Bones they buried not in the
 Church or Church-yard (that was too great a Fa-
 vor) but in a stinking Dunghill, where they re-
 mained till some Years after the happy Restora-
 tion of King Charles II." Had the Corps of a
 Puritan been treated with half this Ignominy which
 was put upon the Remains of an eminent Archbi-
 shop, we should have had other Language than—
 removed by a private Gentleman.

N's Hist. p. 349. "The whole County of Kent
 almost signed Petitions to the Archbishop for
 Mr. Stroud's Continuance among them.

In the next Page, Mr. N. forgetting this Assertion,
 particularly enumerates the several Parishes
 that subscribed Petitions. The Amount of all the
 Petitioners is 171. These Mr. N. calls the whole
 County of Kent almost. But this is not the only
 Instance where Numbers are encreased. Thus,

Life of Ayl. p. 367. When his Author says, "MANY of the
 old Incumbents and Curates were such as were
 fitter to sport with the Timbrel and Pipe, than
 to take into their Hands the Book of the Lord.
 Mr. N. tells us, Most of the old Incumbents
 are disguised Papists (which is likewise his Addi-
 tion) fitter to sport with the Timbrel and Pipe, than
 to take into their Hands the Book of the Lord.

N's Hist. p. 359. "The Queen put down the
 Prophefyings, or religious Exercises for no other
 Reason, but because they enlightened the People's
 Minds in the Scripture, and encouraged their In-
 quiries after Truth.

'Tis very hard Usage of the Queen, not to al-
 low her to give the Reasons of her own Conduct,
 and

and still worse, to assign one so very injurious. She expresses her self thus. ‘ By which manner of Assemblies, great Numbers of our People, meet to be otherwise occupied with honest Labour for their Living, are brought to Idleness, and seduced, and in a manner Schismatically divided among themselves into Variety of dangerous Opinions; not only in Towns and Parishes, but even in some Families, and manifestly thereby encouraged, to the Violation of our Laws, and to the Breach of common Order, and finally to the Offence of all our quiet Subjects, that desire to live and serve God, according to the uniform Orders established in the Church, whereof the Sequel cannot be but over dangerous to be suffered.

N’s Hist. p. 425. ‘ When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had read over the Interrogatories, and seen the Execution they had done upon the Clergy, he writ the Archbishop of Canterbury the following Letter.

In transcribing this Letter, Mr. N. has suppress’d Strype’s White’s History of the Life & Death of the Right Honourable Edward Coke, Esq; Lib. 3. In particular, the following Clause. ‘ Against Appendix.

‘ which [Complaints about the Archbishop] I answer, that I think your Grace doth nothing but, being duly examined, tendeth to the Maintenance of the Religion established, and to avoid Schism in the Church. I have also, for Example, shewed upon your Papers sent to me, how fully the Church is furnished with Preachers, and how small a Number there are that do contend for their Singularity.’ It had likewise been more impartial in Mr. N. if he had transcribed the Archbishop’s Answer, or the most material Parts of it: But he passes it over with only saying, the Archbishop wrote a long Answer. He should have taken Notice in particular, that his Grace tells the Lord Burleigh: ‘ I have, by your Lordship’s Advice, chosen this kind of Proceeding, because I would not touch any for not subscribing only, but for Breach of Order in celebrating Divine Service, administering Sacraments, and executing other Ecclesiastical Functions,

‘ Functions, according to their Fancies, and not
‘ according to the Form by Law prescribed, which
‘ neither your Lordship nor others seemed to dislike,
‘ but to wish and require——My Proceedings are
‘ neither *so vehement*, nor *general*, against Mini-
‘ sters and Preachers, as some pretend, doing me
‘ therein great Injury; and I have sundry times sa-
‘ tisfied your Lordship therein——The Objection of
‘ encouraging the *Papists*, &c. hath neither Prob-
‘ ability nor Likelihood. For how can Papists be
‘ animated, by urging of Men to subscribe *against*
‘ the Pope’s Supremacy, or to the justifying of the
‘ Book of Common-Prayer, and of the Articles of
‘ Religion, both which they so greatly condemn?
‘ But indeed Papists, &c. are animated, because
‘ they see these kind of Persons (which herein,
‘ after a sort, join with them) so greatly friended,
‘ so much borne with, and so animated in their
‘ disordered Doings against both God’s Laws and
‘ Man’s, and against their chief Governours Civil
‘ and Ecclesiastical. This, I say, encourageth the
‘ Papists, and maketh them so malapert. The
‘ other is but a *fallax a non causa ad canjam*. O my
‘ Lord, would to God some of them which *use this*
‘ Argument, had no Papists in their Families, and
‘ not otherwise also countenanced them, whereby
‘ indeed they receive Encouragement. Assure your
‘ self, that the Papists are rather grieved at my Do-
‘ ings, because they tend to the taking away of
‘ their chief Argument, that is, that we cannot
‘ agree among our selves, and lack Unity, and
‘ therefore are out of the Church. And I am cre-
‘ dibly informed, that the Papists give Encourage-
‘ ment to these Men, and commend them in their
‘ Doings; whereof I have also some Experience.
‘ — I have not dealt as yet with any but such as
‘ have refused to subscribe, and given manifest To-
‘ kens of Contempt of Orders and Laws. My
‘ Acts remaining in Record will testify with me——
‘ For, in my own Part, I neither do, nor have done
‘ any thing in this Matter, which I do not think
‘ my self in Duty and Conscience bound to do.”
Mr. *Strype* calls this a wary, wise and resolute Let-
ter; ‘tis very long, and is only taken Notice of
here,

here, as one Instance among many, where Mr. N. has given Letters, without adding the Replies made to them, and produced Objections, without taking sufficient Notice of the Answers given to those Objections. We have an Instance of the like sort, within a few Pages, viz. p. 428. Mr. N. produces a Letter from the Lords of the Council, in order to blacken the Archbishop, but quotes not a Word of the Archbishop's Letter in Vindication of himself and his Brethren. Mr. Strype (out of whom Mr. N. transcribes the Letter from the Council) takes Notice in the same Place, that ' This Letter of the Lords, so careful for the good Estate of the Church, was grounded chiefly, as we see, upon *Surmises* which they had taken up from the *Information and Reports of the Disaffected Faction*, concerning the great Abilities and Learning of themselves, and the ignorant and scandalous Lives of the obedient and conformable Clergy, which however was in a great Part false, and uncharitably given out; and therefore the Archbishop, in his Answer, made it his chief Business to *vindicate* to the Lords those *Ministers* from such *Aspersions*, and himself and the rest of the *Commissioners*, in shewing no Favour to such as deserved Censure for their Neglects or Misbehaviour, and to shew likewise how weak and ignorant that self-conceited Party themselves were!

N's Hist. p. 460. ' The Puritans last Resort was to the Archbishop—A Paper was therefore published, entitled, *Means how to settle a godly and charitable Quietness in the Church*, humbly address to the Archbishop, and containing the following Proposals—But the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the least Latitude from the national Establishment. He writ an Answer to the Proposals, in which he insists upon a full Conformity, telling the Petitioners, that it was none of his Busines to alter the Ecclesiastical Laws, or dispense with them; which was all they were to expect from him.

As Mr. N. gave a large Account of the Proposals, he ought to have been more particular as to the Answer,

swer, and not satisfied himself with saying the Archbishop wrote an Answer. The least he could do, was to have mentioned what the Author he quotes says of this Answer, *viz.* ‘ To all these Proposals (which the Archbishop saw could not have that Tendency, to settle a godly Quietness, whatever was pretended by the Framer of them) he returned brief, but very full and sufficient Answers, which are very well worth the considering.’ One of the most material Proposals was, that instead of subscribing, the suspended Ministers should give a Bond. This, notwithstanding Mr. N. takes no Notice of it, the Archbishop, in his Answer, said he did not mislike; adding an Observation upon the Proposal. The Reader will find them both in *Strype's Life of Whitgift, Append. N. 16. Lib. 3.* in these Words. The Proposal is, ‘ That such honest and learned Ministers as have been of late deprived or suspended, may be suffered to continue their Preaching upon these Cautions following, *viz.* A Bond of the said Ministers, and some of the principal Gentlemen in the Shire, that they shall not preach any erroneous, heretical or schismatical Doctrine, nor shall in their Sermons, Lectures or Preachings, inveigh, or teach any thing against the Book of Common-Prayer, Articles, and making of Ministers, nor against the Dignities of any Archbishops, Bishops, or other Ecclesiastical Persons, by what Name soever they may be called; but soberly to teach Christ Jesus crucified, and by no means break or disturb the Order of the Church, but by all Means they can, uphold and maintain the same, and withstand all such as shall wilfully and wittingly attempt any thing to the contrary.’ To which their Proposal the Archbishop made the following Answer. ‘ I do not mislike of the Bond; but he that shall enter into it, and yet refuse to subscribe, in my Opinion, is either a meer Hypocrite, or a very wilful Fellow; for this Condition containeth more than doth the Subscription.

Mr. N. in transcribing the 8th Article or Proposal, has greatly altered it; he declares it was, that ‘ Midwives and Women may not baptize.’

The

*Strype's Life
of Whitgift,
p. 197.*

The Words of the Puritans are, That all baptizing
 by Midwives and Women, may from henceforth
 be inhibited, and declared void." In his Answer,
 the Bishop observes, " Neither any of the Fathers,
 nor the 4th Council of *Carthage* (which they had
 alledged) ever condemned the Baptizing of Wo-
 men in the Case of *Necessity* and *extraordinarily*;
 but that they should baptize ordinarily, and with-
 out Necessity, the Papists themselves do not al-
 low. I never heard, that any Bishop professing
 the Gospel did give any such Authority to Mid-
 wives." There are some Facts in their Articles
 or Proposals, which are directly contradicted in the
 Answer; in particular, what relates to K. Edward's
 first and second Service-book. But Mr. N. passes
 over all these things, not serving the Puritan Cause.

N's Hist. p. 482. " The Press was in the Hands
 of the Archbishop, who took all possible Care to
 stifle the Writings of the Puritans, while he gave
 Licence to *Ascanio*, an *Italian* Merchant and
 Bookseller in *London*, to import what *Papish*
Books he thought fit, upon this very odd Pretence,
 that the Adversaries Arguments being better known
 by learned Men, might be more easily confuted---
 His Grace seems to have been in no Fear of Pope-
 ry, tho' this very Year another Affassination Plot
 was discovered.

By this Account the Reader must imagine, that
 the Archbishop gave a free Licence to this Bookseller,
 without any Condition, to import and sell Po-
 ship Books. And thus Mr. N. explains it in his
 Margin and his Index — Whitgift licenses *Papish*
Books. This is one Instance among many, very
 many, where Mr. N. avoids producing the Words
 of the Author he quotes, and by substituting others
 in their Place, gives his own Representation instead
 of the true one. The Fact which he imputes to
 the Archbishop, as a Proof of his Inclination to
 Popery, was really an Instance of his Care for the
 Protestant Religion. There was no Way for the
 Archbishop and *Privy Council* to know what Argu-
 ments or Representations the Papists used, but by
 perusing the Books in which these were contained.

Nor

Nor could such Books, which were secretly dispersed among the People, be confuted, unless those who answered them could get a Copy, which by this Means he endeavoured to obtain. Had Mr. N. made a fair Quotation, either given the Words of the Author, or the Licence itself, this would have appeared; the Reader shall have them both.

Strype's Whitsuntide gift, p. 268.

' Licence the Archbishop granted upon this good Consideration, That such Books being perused by learned Men, the Adversaries Arguments might be the better known, in order to the Confutation of them, and that oftentimes thence Matter might be collected of sundry things relating to this Church and Realm, that might turn to its Use and Benefit, as may appear by the said Licence, which ran in these Words. ' Whereas sundry Books are from time to time set forth in the Parts beyond Seas, by such as are addicted to the Errors of Popery, yet, in many respects, expedient to be had by some of the learned of this Realm; containing also oftentimes Matter in them against the State of this Land, and slanderous unto it; and therefore no fit Books to pass thro' every Man's Hands freely. In Consideration whereof I have tolerated Ascanius de Renialme, Merchant Bookseller, to bring into this Realm from the Parts beyond Seas, some few Copies of every such sort of Books, upon this Condition only, that any of them be not shewed or dispersed abroad, but first brought to me, or some other of her Majesty's Privy-Council, that so they may be delivered, or directed to be delivered forth unto such Persons ONLY, as by us, or some of us, shall be thought most meet Men, upon good Considerations and Purposes, to have the Reading and Perusal of them. Given at Lambeth, &c. Mr. Strype further acquaints us, that the Archbishop was so careful, that he made Ascanio enter into strict Bonds to perform these Conditions.

N's Hist. p. 492. ' In another Provincial Synod, about Michaelmas, it was agreed, that the Oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and their Officials in their spirit-

‘ Spiritual Courts, should be collected and registered.
 ‘ If this had been preserved entire, more of the
 ‘ Sufferings of these great and good Men would
 ‘ have appeared, and many Works of Darkness,
 ‘ Oppression and Cruelty, would have been brought
 ‘ to Light, which now must be concealed to the
 ‘ Day of Judgment.

This Writer not only represents, as he pleases, Facts that are known, but decisively determines upon those he professes to know nothing of. This Collection is now lost, or, 'tis more likely, was never made; yet he is positive what *would* have been the Contents. Dr. Bridges published a Book in Defence of the Establishment, wherein he undertakes to prove, ‘ That the Ministers were displace^d, with Grief, for their Demerits. And can Mr. N. say, that if the Trials themselves had been produced, they would not have supported that Allegation, unless he had seen them?

N's Hist. p. 501. ‘ *Edwin Sandys*, Archbishop of York, was a zealous Defender of the Laws against Nonconformists of all sorts. When Arguments failed, he would earnestly implore the secular Arm; tho' he had no great Opinion, either of the Discipline or Ceremonies of the Church, as appears by his last Will and Testament, in which are these remarkable Expressions. ‘ I am persuaded, that the Rites and Ceremonies by political Institution appointed in the Church, are not ungodly, nor unlawful, but may, for Order and Obedience sake, be used by a good Christian—but I am now, and ever have been persuaded, that some of these Rites and Ceremonies are not expedient for this Church now; but that in the Church Reformed, and in all this Time of the Gospel, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged.’ Such a Testimony from the dying Lips of one that had been a severe Persecutor of honest Men for things which he always thought had better be disused than urged, deserves to be remembered.

The Amount of this Charge is Hypocrisy and Cruelty. He persecuted for things he thought better disused

disused than urged. We now see with what Design it was that Mr. N. p. 279. applied to another Person what was said of the Moderation of Bishop Sandys. This Bishop was to be represented as a *severe Persecutor*, and therefore Mr. N. misquotes his Author, rather than let it appear, that Bishop Sandys was so far from being a Persecutor, that the Archbishop

Life of Par. doubted of HIM, if it came to Suspension or Deprivation, whether he would be concerned. This is the Church Hist. Account we have in Srype. Mr. Fuller gives him Lib. IV. p. 197.

the following Character. ‘*Edwin Sandys, Arch-
bishop of York, an excellent and painful Preacher,
and of a pious and godly Life — It is hard to
say, whether he was more eminent in his own Vir-
tues, or more happy in his flourishing Posterity.*’ By the Help of his own Method of representing things, Mr. N. describes this eminent and pious Confessor, as *persecuting HONEST Men against the Convictions of his own Mind.* A heavy Charge! Mr. Strype, from whom Mr. N. had this Will, expressly says, ‘*That it discovers from himself the holy and divine, the pious and humble Spirit of this*

Srype's An. 3. 552. ‘*excellent Prelate.*’ But whence these different Conclusions from the same Will? ’Tis easily answered. Mr. Strype fairly quotes the whole of it.

And is it not highly unjustifiable in Mr. N. by supressing Part of the Will which lay before him, so to change the Design of it, as to make that a Foundation to blacken the Memory of the good Archbishop; which is an honest Discovery of his Sentiments, and a plain Proof of his upright Behaviour. The Words that immediately follow those quoted by Mr. N. are these. ‘*Howbeit, as I do easily acknowledge our Ecclesiastical Policy, in some Points may be bettered; so do I utterly dislike, even in my Conscience, all such rude and indigested Platforms as have been more lately and boldly, than either learnedly or wisely preferred, tending not to the Reformation, but to the Destruction of this Church of England.*’ The Particularities of both Sorts reserved to the Discretion of the godly wise. ‘*Of the latter I only say thus: That the State of a small private Church, and the Form of a larger Christian Kingdom, neither would long like, nor can*

‘ can at all brook one and the same Ecclesiastical Government. Thus much I thought good to testify concerning these Ecclesiastical Matters, to clear me of all Suspicion of double and indirect Dealing in the House of God.’ ’Tis plain therefore, he disliked the Puritans, not for disliking some Ceremonies, but for rudely and boldly attempting the Destruction of the Church of *England*, and the Introduction of their own indigested Platforms.

N’s Hist. p. 507. ‘ Sir Richard Knighley, Sir — Wigton, who had entertained the Pres, together with the Printer, and Humphrey Newman [a Cobler, his Author says] the Disperser, were deeply fined in the Star-Chamber.

For this he quotes *Fuller Lib. 9. p. 194.* They were indeed condemned in a Fine; but Mr. *Fuller*, in the Place quoted by Mr. N. informs us, that Archbishop *Whitgift* importuned the Queen ‘ to have them delivered out of Prison, and eased of their Fines, which, upon their Submission, was performed; whose Mildness (adds Mr. *Fuller*) to mediate for his Adversaries, as it was highly commended by some, so there wanted not those who imputed his Moderation therein to declining of Envy, &c. Thus impossible it is to please forward Spirits, and to make them like the best Deed, who dislike the Doer thereof.

It cannot be supposed, that Mr. *Rapin* was any way partial to Archbishop *Whitgift*; and therefore the Character he gives of that eminent Prelate (directly contrary to Mr. N’s) deserves the greatest Regard. ‘ *Whitgift* (says Mr. *Rapin*) was a mild Rapin Hist. and peaceable Man, who would have been very Vol. X. glad to reclaim the Puritans by soft and gentle Means, such as the Gospel allows.’ Mr. N. on the contrary, describes him as one who was resolved to bear down all Opposition, and to display his sovereign Power against all whose Consciences were not as flexible as his own. ‘ And to prove this Flexibility of *Whitgift*’s Conscience, he alledges, ‘ he had complied with the Popish Religion, and kept his Place in the University, throughout all the Reign of Queen Mary.’ Complted with the Popish Religion! the Reverse of N’s History, p. 408.

this is true ; he neither did, nor could comply with it, which would plainly have appeared, had Mr. N. given us the Words of the Author, which are these.

Life of Whitgift, p. 5.

There was to be a Visitation of the University of Cambridge---in order to the suppressing of pretended Heresy ---- and for the urging of Popery upon the Fellows and Scholars, and obliging such as were qualified to take the first Tonsure. *Whitgift* was one of these ; being Master of Arts, and foreseeing his *Danger*, not only of *Expulsion* out of the University, but further of his *Life*, since he COULD NOT COMPLY with what would be required, he resolved with himself to leave the College, and depart abroad, and sojourn as well as he could, among the faithful Exiles. But Dr. *Peirce* the Master, understanding *Whitgift's* Purpose, and observing him *fixt in his Religion*, by the many good Arguments he used (which the Dr. would often speak of afterwards) he bad him keep his own Counsel, and by no means utter his Opinions, whereby he might be brought into Question, and he would conceal him without incurring any Danger to his Conscience in this Visitation— *Whitgift* therefore obtaining this Favour (not without some special Providence towards him and this Church, and the University of Cambridge) continued in the College throughout the dangerous Reign of Queen *Mary*, having the Advantage of plying his Studies, and improving in good useful Learning, and especially of examining more narrowly the Controversies between the Romanists and the Reformed, and so confirmed himself more in the *true Religion*." This, when Mr. N. has transcribed it, is complying with Popery !

N's Hist. p. 538. " To render the Puritans odious to the Publick, all Enthusiasts, without Distinction, were ranked among them ; even *Hacket* and his two Prophets, *Arthington* and *Coppinger*--- whereas there was not a single Puritan concerned with them --- Mr. *Cartwright* writ an Apology for himself and his Brethren, against the Aspersions of Dr. *Sutcliffe*, in which he declares he had never seen *Hacket* nor *Arthington*, nor ever had

had any Conference with them by Letter or Message.

The Fact charged upon *Cartwright* was, that there had been some Correspondence between him and *COPPINGER*; that he had neither dissuaded him from the Design, nor acquainted the Government with it. This, by Mr. N's own Account, *Cartwright* does not deny, which he should have done, if he intended to answer the Charge brought against him, and not contented himself with declaring, he had never seen *Hacket* or *Arthington*. There is *Vide Conspi-*
another famous Puritan, Mr. Wiggington, who is racy for pre-
particularly charged, as being acquainted with the tended Re-
Men and the Design. Mr. N. p. 473. describes form, p. 28.
him as a warm Nonconformist, but says nothing in 88.
particular, to acquit him of the Charge. Hacket
himself, when he was put upon the Torture, named
Wiggington as one, that if he was well sifted, and
strictly examined, would utter and declare sundry
Matters of Treason, as we find in Mr. Strype, who
makes the following Observation. ' What Un- Strype's Ann.
' derstanding there was between these Wretches Vol. IV. p. 72.
' (Hacket, Coppering and Arthington) and Mar-pre-
' late and his Company, may be gathered from Part
' of a Letter from Coppering to Udal, who was
' then a Prisoner in Southwark, telling him, that the
' Cause why he repaired not unto him and the rest
' who were in Prison, so oft as he was wont to do,
' was for Doubt of more Trouble and Danger that
' might grow to them thereby; and that in respect
' of an Action he had to do.' This Action was,
declaring the Queen had forfeited the Crown, and
proclaiming Hacket to be King of Europe by a spe-
cial Appointment.

N's Hist. p. 358. ' At the Opening of the new Parliament, Feb. 2. (Feb. 19. say the Statute-Book and D'Ewe's Journal) the Queen signified her Pleasure to the House, that they might redress such popular Grievances as were complained of in their several Counties, but should leave all Matters of State to herself and the Council, and all Matters relating to the Church to herself and the Bishops. What an insignificant thing is a Repre-

' sentative Body of the Nation, that must not meddle with Matters of Church or State!

Had Mr. N. looked into the *Journal of Parliament*, to know what was done there, he would have found a satisfactory Account of this Matter.

D'Ewes Jour- The Kingdom was now in the utmost Danger,
nal p. 458. and the Season being far advanced, the Session could

be but short; and therefore the Lord Keeper, after having represented the Danger that threatened the Nation, speaks in the following Manner. ' Her Majesty farther hath willed me to signify unto you, that the calling of this Parliament now, is not for the making of any more new Laws and Statutes, for there are already a sufficient Number both of Ecclesiastical and Temporal; and so many there be, that, rather than to burden the Subject with more to their Grievance, it were fitting an Abridgment were made of those there are already.

' Wherefore, it is her Majesty's Pleasure, that the Time be not spent therein; but the principal Cause of this Parliament is, That her Majesty might consult with her Subjects, for the better notwithstanding of these intended Invasions, which are now greater than ever were heretofore heard of. And whereas heretofore it hath been used, that many have delighted themselves in long Orations full of Verboity, and of vain Ostentations, more than in speaking things of Substance, the Time that is precious should not be thus spent. The Sessions cannot be long, by reason of the Spring Time; 'tis fit that Gentlemen should repair to their Counties, the Justices of Assize also to go their Circuits. So the good Hours should not be lost in idle Speeches. But the little Time we have should be bestowed wholly on such Businesses as are needful to be considered of." Could any thing be more serviceable to the Nation, than to prevent wasting Time in Disputes upon Subjects of less Importance, and making Divisions in the Kingdom upon that account, at a Juncture when every thing that could be dear to an Englishman was in such imminent Danger; a Danger that exceeded that of 1588. Was this a Time to adjust Disputes about

about Rites and Ceremonies, Surplices and square Caps? Was not the Danger great enough to employ the whole Attention of the Publick? Such a Season seemed to require something like the Dictatorial Power among the *Romans*, which a Man may, from the Topicks of Liberty, inveigh against, when the threatening Danger is over, with as much Propriety as Mr. N. does now against those uncommon Measures the Queen found her self obliged to take at such a critical Time. Happy for *Great Britain!* that there was no Quarrel at this Juncture between the Queen and Parliament; and that our Forefathers were not so ready to oppose their Prince, as the Author of the History of the Puritans wishes they had been. His Words, upon this Occasion, shall speak for him. ‘ If (says he) there had been a Spirit of *English Liberty* in the House of Commons, they wouold NOT have SUBMITTED so tamely to the Insults of an arbitrary Court, which arrested their Members for Liberty of Speech, and committed them to Prison, which forbid their redressing the Grievances of Church and State, and sent for their Bills out of the House, and cancelled them. These were such Acts of Sovereign Power, which none of her Majesty’s Ancestors assum’d, and which cost one of her Successors his *Crown and Life*. ’

N’s Hist. p. 589. ‘ Thus the Puritan Clergy, were put upon a Level with Rogues and Felons; and made to hold up their Hands at the Bar, among the vilest Criminals.’

This is a Remark Mr. N. makes, after he had given an Account of two Prosecutions. The one he gravely calls Mr. Darrell’s *Sufferings*, for pretending to cast out unclean Spirits. The other he calls Mr. Allen’s Case. As to Darrell the Author, Mr. N. quotes, viz. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 492, gives this Account. ‘ When the open Practices, for settling the new Discipline, would not prevail, there was a more secret Method made Use of, by some of their Ministers, of doing something that looked little less than miraculous, namely, the casting out Devils, from Persons

' pretendedly possessed by them ; that so the amazed Multitude, having a great Veneration for these Exorcisers of Devils, by the Power of their Prayers and Fastings, might the more readily, and awfully submit to their Opinions and Ways ; which likewise, was a Practice borrowed from the Papists, to make Priests revered, and to confirm the Laity in their Superstitions. One of these was *Darrell*, B. A. a Minister of *Nottingham*, who, at last, after many Years Exercises of his Frauds, in and about that County, *viz.* in *Lancashire*, and *Derbyshire*, was brought before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and others of the Ecclesiastical Commission ; being about the Age of three and twenty, or four and twenty, and then no Minister, he took upon him cast out first one Devil, and then eight Devils, out of a Maid in *Derbyshire*, of about seventeen Years old, whose Name was *Catharine Wright*. His Success seems to have been most remarkable with the Female Sex ; for, in a few Lines, we hear of him again at Mr. Starky's House in *Lancashire*, dispossessing, says Mr. *Strype*, seven Persons at one Clap, whereof six were *Women*. What a demure Account does Mr. *N.* give of these Dispossessions. This *Divine*, says he, was of Opinion, that, by the Power of Prayer, the Devil might be cast out of Persons possessed ; and, having try'd the Experiment upon one *Darlin of Burton*, a Boy of about 14 Years old, with Success, and upon some others, (not a Word of *Catharine Wright*, &c. tho' that was the first Instance in the Place he quotes) he was importuned by one of the *Ministers*, and several of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Nottingham*, to visit one *William Somers*, a Boy that had such convulsive Agonies, as were thought to be preternatural. The Case of this Boy, was the Occasion of *Darrell's* being punished. At last, after a full Hearing, says Mr. *Strype*, before the Archbishop, Bishop of *London*, the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Dr. *Cæsar*, Master of Requests, Dr. *Byng*, Dean of the Arches, and others ; the said *Darrel* was, by full Agreement of

the

the Court, condemned for a *Counterfeit*; and, together with *More* his Companion, both deposed from the Ministry, and committed close Prisoners." *Darrell* indeed, when he was in Prison, made a solemn Protestation of his Innocency, and defended the Doctrine of dispossessing evil Spirits, by Fasting and Prayer. "One would think (says Mr. N.) here was a Plot of some cunning designing Men to conjure the People into a Belief of the Discipline, but all vanishes in the Principles of a weak, and (as Mr. *Strype* confesses) honest Man, whose Name was *Darrel!*" Mr. *Strype* says, this was a weak, or honest Man *I shall call him*, writ a Book, while Prisoner in the *Gatehouse*. 'Tis upon the Credit of this Book, and his Protestation at the Close of it, that Mr. *Strype* seems to differ from the Opinion of those great Divines and Lawyers, in the high Commission that unanimously, upon a full Hearing, condemned him as a *Counterfeit*. But all vanishes, says Mr. N. in the Principles of a weak Man. Were there no others then concerned with him? Was not *More* condemned with him? Does not Mr. *Strype* mention Mr. *Hilderfham*, another Minister, as allowing a Book in Conjunction with *Darrell*, wrote by *Rice*, a Sadler, upon the Dispossession of the Boy of 14 Years old, and contracted by Mr. *Dennison*, another Minister. Of the dispossessing the seven Persons at Mr. *Starky's*, one Mr. *Deacon*, Preacher at *Leigh*, wrote a Book, which Book was justified by *More*, another Preacher; which *More*, had joined himself with *Darrell* in that pretended Dispossession of six Women, in one House. *Darrell* himself declared, that *Aldridge*, another Minister, wrote to him, after having wrote to two other Ministers, who were absent from their Homes. And that *Darrel*, *Aldridge*, and two other Ministers, with 150 of the Neighbours, assembled in Prayer and Fasting, for dispossessing *Somers*. This *Somers* afterwards owned the Fraud, and then denied it. Afterwards he was brought before the Lord Chief Justice, and then he confessed again the whole Course of his Dissimulation. *Darrell*, however, wrote a Book, after this, to prove that *Somers*

was really possessed ; any one, that considers the State of the Town of *Nottingham*, will applaud the Proceedings of the high Commission. ‘ By this Time (says Mr. *Strype*) it came to pass, that the People of *Nottingham* were violent against one another, and the whole Town divided as they stood affected. The Pulpits rang of nothing but Devils and Witches ; and Men, Women and Children were so affrighted, that they durst not stir in the Night ; nor so much as a Servant, almost, go into his Master’s Cellar, about his Businesses, without Company. Few happened to be sick, or ill at Ease, but strait they were damned to be possessed.’ ’Twas high Time to put a Stop to this Practice of dispossessing, whether the Authors were Knaves, Enthusiasts, or both, Mr. *N.* is at Liberty to continue these Practitioners in the List of Puritans, which this Instance plainly shews, he is desirous to encræse with all Clergymen that were punished, whatever was the Reason of it. Mr. *Allen* beforementioned is an Instance of another Sort ; this Gentleman, by the Malice and Revenge of one of his Parishioners, happened to fall under an unreasonable Prosecution. Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *N.* himself allows, was a good Preacher, had subscribed, was well liked by the Bishop, and conformable in his Affections. How comes this Gentleman to be a Puritan, or why is he mentioned as such, except to swell their Number ? With what Propriety could Mr. *N.* after such Prosecutions, cry out, Thus the Puritan Clergy were put upon the Level with Rogues and Felons. *Darrell*, and his Associates, may be Puritans, if their Historian pleases ; but sure, a subscribing Minister, conformable in his Affections, ought not to be added to that List.

The Reader, from those few Observations that have been laid before him, will be able to judge, what sort of a History of the Puritans has been offered to the World. He is likewise desired to observe, that the chief Design of these Papers is to supply the Defects, and correct some Mistakes in that

that Performance, and not to give a compleat Account of all the Transactions of those Times. It had been more conducive to that Peace and mutual Forbearance, for which Mr. N's Preface declares a Regard, if he had suffered this Part of History to rest *whole and entire* in Mr. Strype and other Authors, who have largely writ upon it. If impartial Readers are convinced, that the Author of the *History of the Puritans* has greatly softened, or entirely omitted what is unfavourable to that Side, while every thing that is thought to tend to the Dishonour of the Establishment, is highly aggravated ; that, were a Man determined to raise a Contention among the Protestants of this Kingdom, he would treat the publick Worship and Government of this Church, and the great Founders of it in the same Manner, and call them by the same opprobrious Names as the *History of the Puritans* has done ; if this shall be the Judgment of impartial Men, the Writer of that History must be thought no Friend to Concord and mutual Forbearance, or utterly mistaken in the Steps he took to advance them. Good old Father Fox, as it seems, who *really* meant to promote true Piety and Charity, very pathetically recommends a Method directly contrary to that pursued by this Historian. His Advice was, to drop Strype's Ann. entirely all Disputes about these light external Vol. III. Ap- things ; to forbear all personal Reflections, or pend. p. 222. Arguments drawn from the Characters of Men ; to overlook the Failings of Protestant Brethren ; to join Hands in planting the Faith, in inculcating

Rogo in Domino, ut Pacem prosequamini, extirpetis peccatum, Evangelistarum opera perficiatis, ut de rebus his levibus externis non amplius litigetis, ut Regnum Dei propagetis, ut causam cum causa in his Controversiis nostris, non personas, peccata, nævios fratrum cum causis pandaretis, quid vobis cum fratre labente ut judicis partes suscipiatis ? Domino suo stat aut cadit. Jungamus dextras in plantatione fidei, in inculcatione bonorum operum, in Jesuitarum profligatione. Hoc est satis operis pro nobis. Alter alterius onera portemus, & sic adimpleamus legem Christi. Diligamus mutuo, & sic cognoscent omnes nos ejus esse Discipulos.

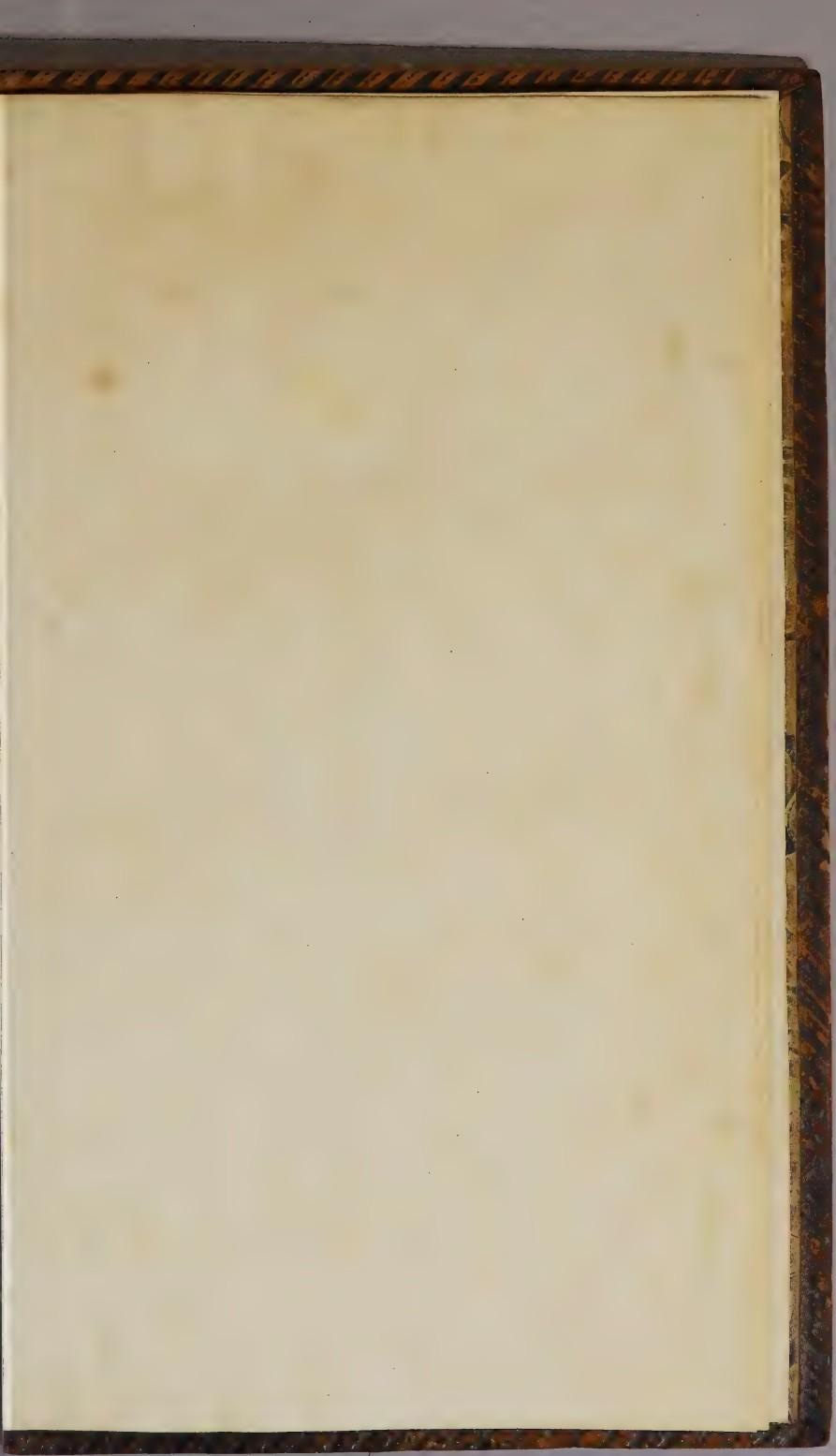
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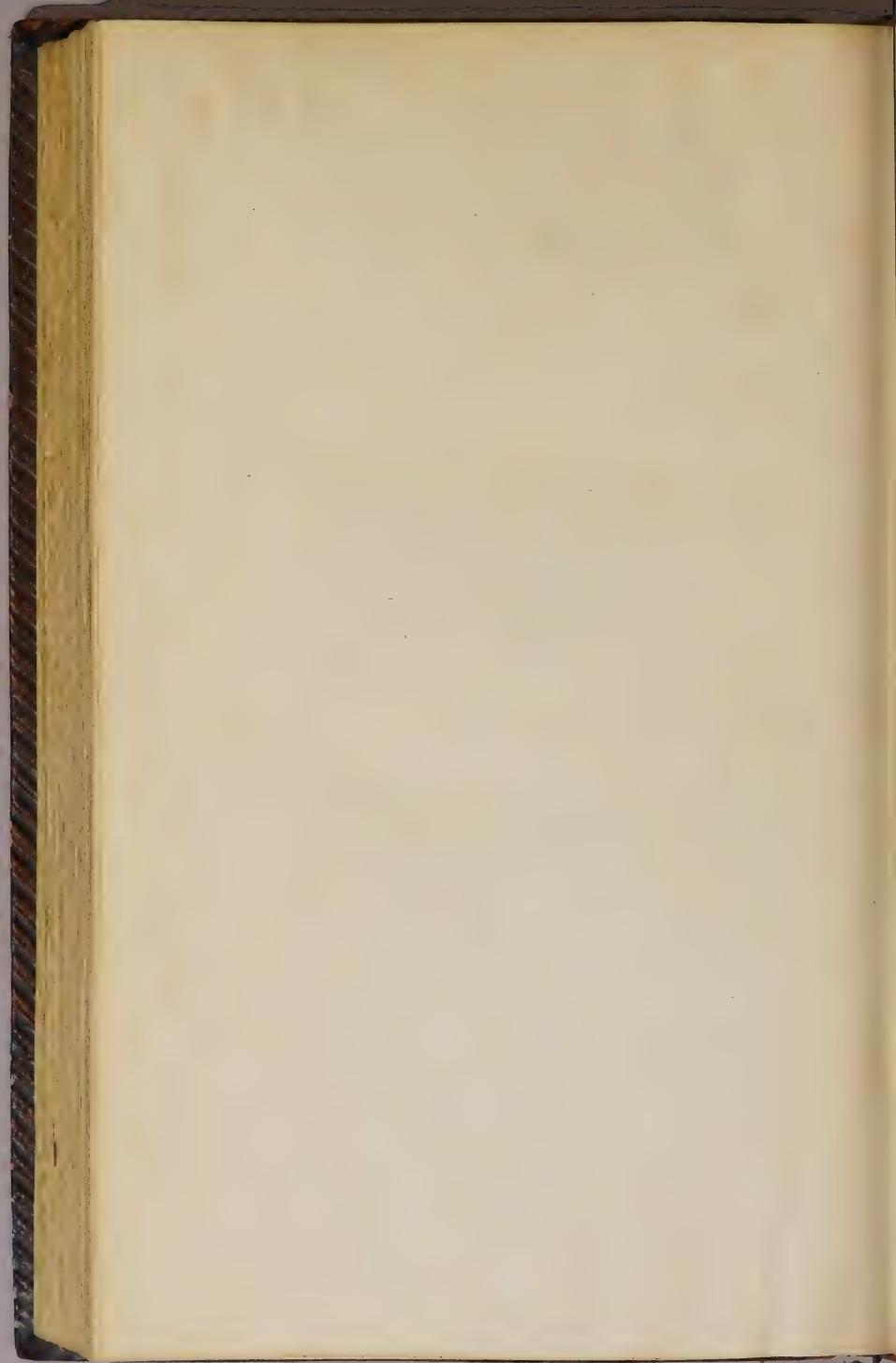
good Works, and opposing the Attempts of Jesuits
in favour of Popery. This, says he, is Work
enough. Let us bear one another's Burdens, and
so fulfil the Law of Christ. Let us love one an-
other, and so shall all Men know that we are his
Disciples.

F I N I S.



PAGE 29 for Treasure read Treasury. P. 42. for modera
read moderate. P. 53, for But as read But it was still
more eligible, as. P. 293 l. 6. dele is. P. 328. for a pri-
mitive Church read the primitive Church.





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